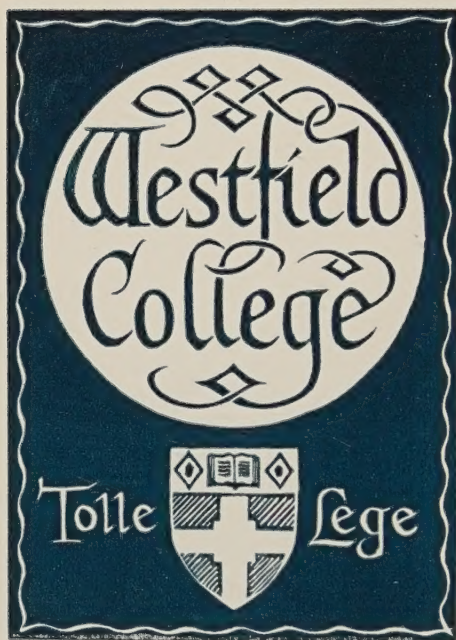


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REVUE DE LITTÉRATURE COMPARÉE

DIRIGÉE PAR MM. F. BALDENSBERGER ET P. HAZARD

TOME XIV

THE

FRENCH ROMANTICS' KNOWLEDGE

OF

ENGLISH LITERATURE

(1820-1848)

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THE
FRENCH ROMANTICS' KNOWLEDGE
OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE

(1820-1848)

According to Contemporary French Memoirs
Letters and Periodicals



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PREFACE

Much work has been done with regard to English influence on French Romanticism. So far, investigators have preferred internal evidence : naturally, they have restricted themselves to the study of individuals ; they have attempted to ascertain the influence of Shakespeare, Byron, Scott and others on French literature, usually on a given genre, and have omitted such important questions as Shakespeare's influence on poetry, and have even scamped Scott's influence on history. It is very noticeable, too, that critics have taken a certain English speaking author and discussed his influence but have rather avoided such considerations as "The English element in Musset"; possibly because most of these books on influence have been written as theses, and such a subject as "the English element in Musset" would need a lot of padding to make a thesis so long as University authorities require them in these days. The very nature of internal evidence renders it impossible for any one man to ascertain by this means the English influence on French Romanticism both for its general aspects and for particular exponents : it would be a life's work to determine approximately the English influence on the Romantic drama or novel or poetry, and it would take a group of critics, proceeding on a carefully defined method and possessing similar literary opinions as well as ability of somewhat the same high standard, to treat adequately of the general and particular English influence on French Romanticism in mass and the French Romantics separately. Though Frenchmen have so far produced the best comparative criticism in this field, even they have approached the subject from the English side : when will they bring out studies on such questions as "the influence of the English novel on the French historical novel during the Romantic period"?

Very striking too is the paucity of books based on external evidence. True, we have such a study as "*Fenimore Cooper et Edgar Poe d'après la critique française du XIX^e siècle*", but, though useful, the literary scope thereof is small. The aesthetic and emotional side of literature counts more than the historical, yet historical investigation has great value and it should be used as a check and test for purely literary criticism. In comparative studies especially, historical evidence not only elucidates particular points but presents a definite, tangible view of whole movements; it is so accessible that, with hard work, one can obtain a general idea as well as much detailed information in a very broad field. And surely, if we can get a history (one-sided as it may be) of the English influence on French Romanticism in the light of external evidence, that will have its use, intrinsic as a composite view, extrinsic as a companion to the investigations founded on internal evidence. Not that Joseph Texte, Estève and the others have wholly neglected external evidence: far from it; but as they produced works mainly subjective, they naturally gave what was for their study an adequate, but what was for the objective critic an insufficient account of the historical evidence. This external evidence is most valuable when it is contemporary, for then it reflects the impressions and conveys the acknowledgments not only of the writers whose work is concerned but that of their friends, acquaintances and observers: later evidence is second-hand and likely to conform with the literary theories and fads of a period that has, either a little or largely, lost touch with the period under consideration.

In the present investigation, then, I have used the periodicals (1) issued during the years of Romanticism, and the letters and memoirs written by contemporaries, whether they were Romantics or otherwise. The delimitation of sources has been made thus:

a) The periodicals are strictly confined to the Romantic period; a few have been added for the "years of approach" (1800-1819).

b) The memoirs and letters are written by persons born not later than 1840. The date may seem to be a rather late one, but it must be remembered that many of the Romantics were living

(1) Naturally, later periodicals have been drawn on for letters and memoirs relevant according to the terms of delimitation that follow immediately. See also the notes to Bibliography B.

in (say) 1870, and men born in 1840 met them, often intimately, long after the Romantic period. I have, where it seemed advisable, made one or two exceptions to this rule and included such a book as Mme Alphonse Daudet's "*Souvenirs autour d'un groupe littéraire*".

c) The memoirs and letters are written by those who were either full-blooded Frenchmen or belonged to families that had long dwelt in France and intermarried several (or more) generations previously : Mme Swetchine, Ida St. Elme and the *princesse de Lieven* have been omitted, d'Alton Shée and J. A. Walsh included.

d) "Voyages" are passed-over as constituting evidence of a different order. They are more directly literary works. Such "Voyages" as were published, above all if they were published early, in the Romantic period represent more a determinant than a reflection of public opinion. This explains the omission of the well-known "*Voyage pittoresque et littéraire en Angleterre et en Ecosse*" by Pichot.

e) For much the same reason, pure literary criticism published in book-form has been also set aside. It is dissonant with the kind of evidence afforded by letters and memoirs and is apt to be governed by set formulas. On the other hand, I have used criticism appearing in the periodicals of 1820-1848, whether it consists of book-reviews and theatrical notices, or of retrospective essays : the former are wholly at one with the idea of giving the contemporary evidence ; the latter can hardly be ignored when one professes to treat the matter supplied by the newspapers and reviews of the time. It may further be noted that I have availed myself far more frequently of the articles on very recent works and the absolutely contemporary notices on books and plays than of the decidedly retrospective essays and studies.

f) In the course of research I have drawn on critical studies, whether general or dealing with individual Romantics, for the relevant unedited letters and recollections that they contain. In the Bibliography (division A), I have brought them into sections I and III rather than into a list of "Books consulted". And in order to aid students in the comparative literature of this period, I have in Bibliography A given in square brackets such books as, either dealing with or at any rate significantly concerning French Romanticism, contain no direct evidence of English

influence thereon. This list offers valuable indirect evidence as to the frequency with which this question was mentioned : I have given it not only to indicate the range of my own researches but also to set up a sign-post to others, who might also have a look at the notes following the bibliography proper.

In using only external evidence and keeping to it scrupulously, one is faced with the question of translation. In the " *Note on the Years of Approach* ", which pretends to be no more than a note, I have thought it best to transcribe the original where possible,—that is, up to the point where one could still say : " Well, the thread of the narrative is in English ". In the general chapter for the years 1820-1848 I have quoted freely in French, as I didn't like in any way to alter many important passages. In the chapters on the various genres, the details have nearly always been translated or paraphrased ; French has been kept for the more general parts and where it was impossible to convey the exact sense without losing the force of the original.

It is perhaps advisable to consider for a moment the kind of evidence on which this study rests. Broadly, it is biographical, derived mainly from periodicals, and autobiographical, drawn from letters and memoirs for the most part. In general, the evidence descends in this order of value :—statements made by the Romanics themselves; affirmations by their exact contemporaries ; opinions of men that met Romanics not until late in their life, if that life was a long one. In the autobiographical indications we may put an almost implicit faith, for though a writer will sometimes through vanity exaggerate his knowledge of a foreign literature, he will not offend his nationality and depreciate his own originality by postulating a non-existent foreign influence. The opinion of exact contemporaries, which constitutes perhaps three-fifths of the indications used here, may in the great majority of instances be held reliable, when this opinion is either given by, or in agreement with that of, competent critics like Sainte-Beuve, Magnin, E. D. Forgues, Gautier, Rémusat, Blaze de Bury, Chasles, Delécluze, Lucas, A. de Pontmartin, Tissot. It has been doubted whether one should place much reliance on statements made by journalists : many of the journalists of the Romantic period were well-known and esteemed critics; journalists in the best sense of the word. Why doubt the honesty of a whole mass of writers ? Why doubt

especially the minor writers? Moreover, there is little inducement to be dishonest in literary criticism of this kind. Again, it is extremely unlikely that the French journalists, who were citizens also, should constitute an exception to the rule that the French as a nation are probably the most patriotic people in the world : it would be a queer kind of patriotism consistently to point out English influence on the literature as a whole, on the various genres, on almost every notable writer, without due cause. Nor can one justify the view that where numerous critics pointed out an influence, one critic acted as bell-wether to the flock. No one critic occupied during the Romantic period so prominent a position as to impose his opinion on the mass of journalists. It is unlikely that they read so many periodicals other than their own as to make the bell-wether idea even a plausible hypothesis. Then the evidence offered by men who met Romantics grown old; that is, when the Romantic period had ceased a number of years. I have here restricted myself in the main to the memoirs of men that knew such Romantics very well indeed. May I advance, too, that writers hardly ever forget whence they drew their inspirations? Finally, it is a most striking fact that such works as have appeared dealing with internal evidence bear out, in almost every detail, the statements, whether of general or very precise influence, made by the Romantics themselves and by their contemporaries. So that a record of contemporary criticism and self-revelation (a record valuable intrinsically, even if it were a mere legend) does form a helpful, suggestive, and for the most part reliable companion to internal criticism : valuable in itself, external evidence will also serve to point the directions in which internal criticism will find profitable spheres of action.

This book aims then, at presenting the influence of English literature on French Romanticism strictly in the light of the contemporary external evidence, and the only value it may possess lies in the sheer and single presentation of the objective facts in and for themselves, without bias from the subjective work done on the subject. I have avoided any systematic comparison of the two sets of evidence, simply because one would feel bound to keep comparing right through the book, and nobody has that encyclopaedic and marvellous knowledge and unerring taste which alone, would justify such an attempt. Occasionally, remarks on subjective evidence have, where it seemed necessary, been introduced, but purely and simply as subjective — to be

taken or left at pleasure. Seeing that I have tried to set forth the "historical" data, I have inserted general matter only where some approach or conclusion needed to be made, and have clearly indicated that such parts are personal; one's deductions must be personal. But I have kept ever before me the ideal of a naked and unadorned account: embroidery, divagations and the development of pet theories, however charming and however fitting in subjective and aesthetic criticism, certainly spoil artistic unity and the logical consistency of "atmosphere" in a study that pretends to be objective (1).

This book constitutes not so much a history of French Romanticism as influenced by English literature, as an account of the English influence on that movement: hence it is that this study, short though it be, includes the names of many French writers that do not usually figure in accounts of French Romanticism; on the other hand, it has been felt (to put it mildly) inadvisable to tabulate those writers whom external evidence has shown to owe nothing to the foreign literature. An author of the second rank may, if he has been very notably affected by English literature, receive as much space as a writer of the first order that has been little influenced, but this procedure, which is consonant with the idea and the plan of the book, has not been exaggerated. "After all, there are limits".

One could prosecute this enquiry from the stand-point of English literature, general and particular, or from that of French Romanticism, in mass and in the various works that go to form it; but both these methods leave a lot of ground untouched, unless of course one rushes in where wise men fear to tread and drags in all the facts, whether they be logically relevant or artistically extraneous. So, to avoid distortion, I have attempted to handle the subject in both the English and the French aspect. American literature has been set aside, for that is another matter; occasional references, however, are unavoidable.

To refer to something which, though irrelevant to the subject, yet deserves close attention, — it is strange that, while the influence of Ossian, Scott, Byron and others on French literature has been studied at length, very little work has been done with

(1) If I may be allowed a personal remark, I must admit that my very strong "penchant" for subjective criticism has only with difficulty been kept on the curb. The perception of my tendencies has made me all the more severe towards "backsliding" in this work.

regard to the influence of French writers on English literature. It is high time that the pioneering of Sir Sidney Lee, of Dowden, and of MM. Montégut and Cestre become an organised movement ; the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (especially) will show a strong and wide-spread cult for both general and particular French literature. The study of comparative literature, so keenly furthered in France by MM. Fernand Baldensperger and Hazard, is one of the most fascinating of pursuits : let us hope that it will spur investigators to turn their attention to the French influence (notably that of the Romantics) on English literature.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the bibliographies of MM. Lanson and Thieme have saved me much time and labour ; it will, however, be found that I have gone very considerably outside the " Manuel " and the " Guide ", especially in Bibliography A III. Hatin's book on the French press has proved most useful, though it offers scant information on the purely literary periodicals.

The footnotes are designed not to supersede but to supplement the bibliography. For periodicals, the reference is nearly always minute (the exact date is always given for the newspapers). When " Correspondances " are mentioned, the date, rarely the page, is indicated. For very well known memoirs (like Delécluze's and Philarète Chasles's), pagination is rather an insult to the reader, and I wouldn't care to insult him.

Like many others, I must express obligation to Dr. A. J. Carlyle. His broad, penetrating and luminous grasp of European Romanticism has caused him to sympathise with what has been a long and arduous task. I would like also to thank my friend, Mr. S. H. Hopper, who has recently written an excellent thesis on Félix Pyat, for indicating several useful books.

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

Oxford, October 1923.

CHAPTER I

A NOTE ON THE YEARS OF APPROACH

(1800-1819)

As it lies outside my province to render a general account of French Romanticism, it may be sufficient to note that, in the eighteenth century, literature the vehicle of intellect preceded literature the embodiment of imagination and emotion as adumbration of that movement; Diderot, Rousseau and Buffon came before Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and André Chénier as unconscious and therefore tentative pioneers (1).

Moreover, had the Revolution been followed immediately by a time of peace, the ferment of ideas would undoubtedly have very soon found abundant expression in French literature: the long war and the consequent political turmoil preoccupied the public mind (as we see by this sentence from the "Magasin encyclopédique" of 1815, "Les événements politiques ayant interrompu les communications, et absorbé les esprits, il ne s'est rien passé d'important dans la littérature" (2)) and kept merely potential the movement that became definite so shortly after 1815 that we perceive how general and how powerful was the ferment.

Of course Chateaubriand by his imaginative fiction, his more or less imaginary "Voyages", and his graphic treatment of religion, Madame de Staël by her novels, with their Godwinian and Ossianic tendencies, and by her stranger-loving "De la littérature" and "L'Allemagne", Lemercier by his plays, Nodier by his cultured picturesqueness and his freshness, and several other writers by less clear and less noteworthy qualities, — all these, in a total output comparatively small, show that something disturbing, something important was taking place in French

(1) Pellissier's "Mouvement littéraire au XIX^e siècle" is excellent on this point. See also Finch and Allison Peer's "Origins of French Romanticism" (1920) for this and more general aspects.

(2) Vol. IV, p. 204.

literature. But they still conformed largely to the technique of the "grand siècle" and reflected the intellectualism of the eighteenth century.

In the contemporary press, however, we meet with several indications that critics were considerably exercised by the new influences. Naturally enough, they distrusted what they did not understand. For instance, A. J. D. B. (reviewing an extravagant novel translated from the English) as early as 1804 broke out thus : " Parmi ces rapsodies romanesques qui se multiplient tous les jours, malgré le bon goût qui s'en irrite, et les bonnes mœurs qui en souffrent..... Il n'y a qu'une censure sévère qui puisse arrêter ce débordement de corruption, d'absurdité, d'extravagance, qui est l'aliment des passions, et presque la seule instruction des jeunes personnes". But these critics apparently missed seeing the danger likely to ensue from the cultivation of historical novels, which became one of the genres most affected by the Romantics ; indeed, the designation "roman historique" seems to have been quite common (3).

To arrive at the question of English influence. Though English literature reacted on French writers much less during these years of approach (4) than from 1820 onwards, yet the evidence on the earlier period offers a great deal that is both instructive and interesting. Take such a periodical as the "Magasin encyclopédique" (1795-1816) : one remarks that not only did the critics concern themselves much with English literature, but, all things considered, they treated it with a delightful open-mindedness : one would hardly believe that the two nations were at war. This attitude derived no less from the desire of the French to maintain their reputation for intellectual fair play than from their curiosity about a literature that, more than their own, expressed the spirit of revolt and manifested it in form as well as matter. Such an attitude underlies and, in a few instances, directs contemporary indications as to the general influence of English on French literature in mass.

Thus, E. J. Delécluze refers to the lingering imprint left by the Ossianic mingled with the Radcliffe-Lewis element : " L'in-

(3) See the "Magasin encyclopédique", 1809, vol. III, p. 468, and 1813, vol. III, p. 469.

(4) For the whole of this period, one cannot do better than to consult Lanson's "Histoire de la littérature française", though for the years 1813-1819 the best book is J. Marsan's "Bataille romantique".

fluence des [romans terrifiants], de " Werther " et des poésies d'Ossian sur le goût et les idées du public de France a été forte, et assez durable. En effet, c'est du moment où ces deux branches bâtarde de littérature se sont étendues, qu'il a été du bel air à contrefaire le misanthrope et de se donner pour triste, pour malheureux et mélancolique... Les habitudes du corps et de l'esprit ont longtemps conservé l'empreinte en France ; les écrivains, même les plus distingués de cette époque, n'ont pu s'en garantir " (5). In this way was prepared an atmosphere in which Byronism could thrive. That, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, English literature was already exerting a powerful wide-spread influence on the educated French public, appears further from the same writer's statement with regard to Chateaubriand's " Atala " (1801) : " Les jeunes gens surtout, dont le goût avait déjà été modifié par la lecture d'ouvrages traduits de l'anglais et de l'allemand, se trouvèrent préparés à accepter les images nouvelles, les hardiesses de style... ". And the " Magasin encyclopédique " so far presumed on the interest of its readers as to give in 1801-1803 an extremely sketchy and inartistic " Notice biographique et littéraire sur les Femmes — Auteurs les plus distingués de la Grande-Bretagne ". But a piece of evidence more satisfactory perhaps than this last item comes also from the " Magasin ", which, concerning the " Bibliothèque des Romans anglais, publiés depuis le 1^{er} janvier 1801, ainsi que des tragédies et comédies jouées depuis cette époque, sur les théâtres de Drury-Lane et de Covent-Garden", observed that, " Ce recueil, auquel travaillent plusieurs écrivains distingués, servira à faire connaître en France, dans le cours du mois, les meilleurs romans anglais, ainsi que les meilleures pièces de théâtre publiées à Londres, dans le mois précédent. Ces extraits ne renfermeront aucun jugement littéraire, et ne seront que l'abrégé des ouvrages originaux. On y supprimera les détails superflus qui ne servent qu'à égarer l'attention du lecteur, et on ne laissera subsister que ce qui peut intéresser" (6). As to the success of this series, we have no very definite information, but another venture of the same kind seems to have been a highly profitable business to the publishers. " Parsons and Galignani's British Library, in verse and prose " was begun in

(5) "Souvenirs de soixante ans", 1862.

(6) See 1802, t. I, p. 283.

1804 (7), and two years later attracted the following praise : " Ce recueil continue toujours avec succès, parce que le choix des sujets en est généralement bien varié et fait avec goût " (8). References to the " Library " show that the poets received much space. Now the reason for the inception and for the success of this series has been given in a sentence written in 1804 : " Le goût pour les ouvrages anglais est devenu depuis quelque temps universel; nous cherchons à nous approprier leurs ouvrages, soit en publiant de nouvelles éditions, soit en les traduisant " (9). Words like those, unmistakably clear and convincing, would fittingly serve as an epigraph to any detailed study on English influence on the French literature of the early nineteenth century. Not that the references to English literature were always complimentary : far from it ; but depreciatory passages dealt for the most part with certain books or minor aspects, as for example when in the " Magasin encyclopédique " for March 1803 we come on a mild tirade against English humour.

The salient feature of allusions made during the first decade to English literature, therefore, is that, while they are not uniformly eulogistic, they betoken a growing interest on the part of the French public, both the critics and their readers. This fact characterises E. B. 's article, " Nouvelles observations sur la vieille querelle des anciens et des modernes " (10), in which, though the judgments vary from high praise to severe blame, the writers of Great Britain occupy a very prominent place ; and this article was typical. The French critics wished to honour those to whom honour was due ; Lobstein, for instance, said that the sombre and melancholy is a " genre dans lequel les Anglais sont si supérieurs à toutes les autres nations " (11). Nor did they restrict themselves to general subjects : the " Magasin encyclopédique " for November 1805 contained a critique written around rather than on " A Dissertation on Language ", and the number for June the following year announced Hennem's " Poétique anglaise ".

Not only did the majority of men of letters review most

(7) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1804, t. VI, pp. 478-484. This "most extensive selection ever offered to the public, from every admired author in the English language" was printed at Paris by Didot père.

(8) *Ibidem*, 1806, II, 237.

(9) *Ibidem*, 1804, VI, 478-479 ; the article by Ch. Lobstein.

(10) *Ibidem*, 1804, V, 7-24.

(11) *Ibid.*, 1804, VI, 480.

tolerantly such English books as fell within their professional province, but the general public in its turn reacted on the most enlightened section of the community. When a firm of booksellers publishes a literary review, we may be certain that it doesn't do so merely to provide work for the critics. So that when in mid-1807 Parsons and Galignani set afoot their "Monthly Repertory of English Literature", they no doubt intended to meet a growing demand. A contemporary periodical (12) pronounced thus luminously on the enterprise: "Cet ouvrage..., très bien imprimé, paraît chaque mois par cahier de 120 pages; il y en a déjà trois numéros qui sont très intéressants. Dans un temps où les difficultés de la guerre ne permettent presque à personne en France de se procurer les livres et même les journaux littéraires anglais, il ne peut être que fort agréable à tous ceux qui possèdent la langue anglaise, de pouvoir se procurer à Paris, au prix très modique de 30 francs par an, un journal qui contient les meilleurs articles de tous les ouvrages périodiques qui paraissent à Londres, et l'annonce exacte de toutes les productions de la littérature anglaise". Moreover this review must have flourished, because five years later (13) we once more find it warmly praised.

This attention to English literature naturally lead to the importation of English words and phrases, on which Edmond Géraud supplies a commentary all the more valuable for its peevishness: "Je n'aime ni les Anglais ni leur langue", he wrote in his *Journal* in August 1808, "et je ne conçois pas l'acharnement ridicule avec lequel on s'efforce de naturaliser en France certaines de leurs expressions" (14). Two years later (15) he exclaimed: "C'est une manie commune à tous les jeunes gens qui apprennent l'anglais, l'italien ou l'allemand de médire d'abord de la langue française, que presque toujours ils savent assez mal. A les entendre, rien n'est plus indigent, plus froid et plus timide. Ils ne se doutent pas que ces alliances de mots bizarres, ces expressions obscures ou forcées qu'ils admirent dans les langues étrangères, nous les avons également à l'époque où notre langue n'était point encore formée... "Nul ne sait toute

(12) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1807, V, 239.

(13) *Ibidem*, 1812, VI, 168.

(14) "Un homme de lettres sous l'Empire et la Restauration", edited by M. Albert in 1893.

(15) *Ibidem*, June 1810.

sa langue ", a dit Voltaire, et ce mot d'un grand sens explique cette nuée de détracteurs qui tous les ans s'échappent de nos écoles ".

More general is the indication offered by the " Galerie historique des Hommes les plus célèbres " (16) : the twenty-first instalment, published in 1808, contained (along with numerous articles on famous men of other countries) notices on Waller, Butler, Young, Chesterfield, Johnson and Robertson, while tome XI, issued the following year, included Chaucer, Otway, Shenstone, Akenside, Lyttleton, Warburton, and Richardson. The cult of great men " waxed exceeding strong " about this time, and Napoleon himself had a say concerning the potentially Romantic elements that were creeping slowly yet none the less surely into French literature. " Il avait ", writes Patin, " une aversion particulière pour ces doctrines qui ébranlaient déjà les fondements de l'ancienne poétique, et à l'école d'Homère tentaient de substituer celle de Shakespeare. Il les haïssait comme nous venant de l'étranger, des nations alliées à l'Angleterre, de l'Angleterre elle-même; leur introduction en France lui semblait une sorte de violation du système continental " (17).

And he had cause to fear! Even the classic Joubert had fallen — so far as this calm man could fall — under the spell of English literature. An admirer of Shakespeare and at least a supporter of other writers, he so far influenced Fontanes that " le grand-maître de l'Université royale " became a favourable critic of works produced across the Channel. Joubert exercised a similar influence on others of his cultured group of friends, including Madame de Beaumont and Chénédollé (18). It was not, however, this group which incurred the blame expressed by E. M. Masse in his verse satire " Les Anglomanes " (19), published along with other poems in 1813.

In this year appeared " Le Mercure étranger ", which, subsisting hazardously until 1816, not only reviewed a very fair variety of English works but also gave a number of translations from English books and periodicals; for poetry, the original usually

(16) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1808, X, 226-227 : 1809, I, 455-456.

(17) "Journal des Savants", Jan. 1846, article on B. Jullien's "Histoire de la poésie française à l'époque impériale"; cf. "Mémoires de Mme de Rémusat", I, 189-190.

(18) For this paragraph, see passim Raynal's "Correspondants de J. Joubert", 1883, and Pailhès, "Du nouveau sur J.-J. Joubert", 1900.

(19) See the "Magasin encyclopédique", 1813, VI, 212.

accompanied the rendering. Yet its chief contributors, Langlès, Ginguené, Amaury-Duval (the editor), Vanderbourg, Sevelinges, Durdent (20) and Catteau-Calleville, were very far from being "Anglomanes", though several undoubtedly belonged to the category of "Anglophiles". But it did convey the spirit of the time, for, some years later, D. wrote in "*Le Constitutionnel*" : "Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Young, Thomson, Hugues Blair, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, étaient, sous l'Empire, dans les mains de tous les hommes bien élevés, ... Ossian était de mode ; ... c'est sous l'Empire que Delille donna la traduction du "*Paradis perdu*" ; ... c'est sous l'Empire que parut "le *Mercur*e étranger", premier modèle de toutes ces "Revue*s* étrangères" dont nous sommes inondés" (11th June, 1834).

French society as well as literature underwent a strong attack when peace was signed in 1815. "Les Anglais à cette époque", the comtesse de Chastenay tells us, "nous faisaient à peu près les honneurs de Paris. Toutefois, ce ne fut pas sans peine que de leurs salons, où l'on se portait en cohue, ils arrivèrent dans nos intimités. Tout leur effort tendait à s'y trouver admis, et les plus distingués en eurent seuls le bonheur. Je ne puis en blâmer personne, car, dès le premier débordement surtout, la prudence et le choix étaient plus nécessaires" (21). A somewhat different feeling moved Charles Loyson in 1819 to write : "La longue guerre que nous avons eue à soutenir contre l'Angleterre, l'interruption de communications qui en a été la suite nécessaire, la difficulté de se procurer, pendant tout ce temps, les livres anglais journellement publiés, la cherté de ces livres eux-mêmes, enfin toutes ces causes réunies ont empêché que la connaissance de la littérature moderne des Anglais se répandît généralement parmi nous" (22). 1815 seems to have been pretty generally recognised by contemporaries as an important date for French literature, and Jules Janin brought a national touch into his statement : " ... A peine la tempête calmée et au premier rayon du beau soleil, reparurent en France les beaux arts, la poésie... Alors s'introduisirent en France lord Byron et Walter Scott, les deux seuls Anglais auxquels nous ne gardions pas rancune pour la journée de Waterloo" (23).

(20) It was Durdent who wrote most of the articles and reviews on English literature.

(21) Her "*Mémoires*", 2 voll., 1896-1897 ; see vol. II near the end.

(22) "*Le Lycée français*", 1819, I, 131.

(23) "*Journal des Débats*", 11th Déc. 1837.

The influence spread to official circles and operated on official things, as we see by two interesting side-lights that the year 1816 affords us : early that year, Benjamin Constant, in a letter (24) to Madame Récamier, spoke most enthusiastically about the English Parliament and compared it with the Chamber of Deputies, to the great disadvantage of the latter ; and the comte de Fontanes, in a speech (25) to the Academy, mentioned Bacon and Milton among " savants " that had also been men of letters : such facts, small in themselves, accumulate to indicate the set of the literary tide.

A greater writer than either Constant or Fontanes shows that in the same year, he too was thinking about English literature. " Le système romantique, gâté par le mystique de Schlegel ", wrote Stendhal to a friend, " triomphe tel qu'il est expliqué dans les vingt-cinq volumes de l' " Edinburgh Review " et tel qu'il est pratiqué par lord Byron..... Le Courrier part, sans quoi j'avais le projet de dicter pour toi la traduction de six pages de l' " Edinburgh ", No. 45, qui exposent toute la théorie romantique. Tâche de glisser le commencement de cet alinéa dans ma note romantique " (26). Stendhal seems to have been writing on the subject, which obviously pleased him ; he was competent to deal with it, for he had, as anyone may see from his early letters, admired and understood Shakespeare for many years. His opinions on Romanticism were shared by others of the men that flourished in 1816. The literary and artistic influences that had operated and those that then arrived to operate on this generation have been excellently indicated by Delécluze in his most valuable " Souvenirs ".

" En résumé ", he says, " le " Werther " de Goethe, " René " de Chateaubriand, le livre de Madame de Staël sur l'Allemagne, les travaux des artistes Overbeck et Cornélius rejetant l'étude, les productions de l'antiquité pour s'appuyer sur celles du moyen âge, les romans de Walter Scott déterminant en littérature une révolution analogue, les productions du grand poète Byron, donnant, non seulement aux écrivains mais aux artistes, l'idée de s'affranchir de toute mesure, telle est la série

(24) "Lettres de Benjamin Constant à Mme Récamier", 1882, at date of 14th March 1816.

(25) Delivered on 24th April, 1816 : see the "Magasin encyclopédique", 1816, II, 297.

(26) "Correspondance de Stendhal", ed. by Paupe and Cheramy in 3 voll. in 1908 : letter to Crozet, 1st Oct. 1816.

graduée des productions intellectuelles qui ont précédé et déterminé l'explosion de la bourrasque romantique ". The writings of Scott and Byron, as Delécluze points out, worked together to set aside classical mythology and ancient history as the almost sole inspiration to writers and artists and caused them to turn to mediæval and modern times. Something of this increasing interest in the modern appears in the Introduction to the " *Annales encyclopédiques* " (27), which in 1817 proposed to pay a lot of attention to foreign literatures: English books occupied the most space in the lists of " *Livres étrangers* ".

Such lists and numerous reviews were rapidly popularising the old as well as the contemporary writers of Great Britain. We find that in June 1818, A. M. Ampère declared in a letter (28) to his son Jean-Jacques: " Je suis d'autant plus aise que tu pousse à l'anglais, comme tu dis, qu'en lisant l'autre jour un article sur les œuvres de lord Byron, j'y vis des choses très belles, d'une grandeur sauvage, qui te plairont surtout dans la langue de l'auteur. C'est une admirable littérature, sans compter même le premier poème épique moderne qui lui appartient ". Much more general is the testimony given by Delécluze, who states that " Les littératures étrangères, celle de l'Angleterre en particulier, excitaient vivement la curiosité à cette époque " (1819). The interest extended to American literature, and in this year the " *Lycée français* " contained a short and rather superficial article (29) on the poetry of the United States. The " *Lycée* ", indeed, spent much of its brief career in treating of English literature: in the first volume, Loyson mentioned that his review would deal with Scott, Byron, Moore, Southey, Campbell, Rogers, Coleridge, Wilson and Wordsworth.

In short, the view as to foreign and especially English literature that prevailed in 1819 was clearly implied by Pigault-Lebrun when, having studied Byron, he wrote in " *La Renommée* " of the 7th July: " Il se peut que notre poésie manque parfois de certaines teintes, d'une certaine couleur, d'une certaine vérité, qu'elle pourrait emprunter sans honte à la poésie des autres peuples. Nos richesses nationales ne doivent point nous

(27) Edited by A. L. Millin, the " *Annales encyclopédiques* ", 1817-1818, represents the half-way house between the " *Magasin* " and the " *Revue encyclopédique* ".

(28) " A. M. et J. J. Ampère, *Correspondance et Souvenirs* ", 2 voll., 1875.

(29) Tome II, p. 67 ff.

fermer les yeux sur des richesses étrangères, et le patriotisme n'exclut pas la justice " (30).

Yet, when we arrive at the consideration of the general influence of English literature on the various French genres, we meet with very few broad references (31), to English poetry. One of the earliest allusions figures in the "*Magasin encyclopédique*", of 1802 (32), and there A. J. D. B., ungently handles the descriptive poets of the previous century.

Far more than British poetry, the drama exercised critics and interested playwrights in France. Ducis and Talma had early given an impetus to powerful tragedy and spirited acting, and both men derived their driving power from England. Of the former, Delécluze has well said : "Ce poète de talent a... droit à être inscrit au nombre des novateurs, puisque avec de grandes précautions, il est vrai, il a contribué chez nous à initier les hommes de lettres et le public à la connaissance de ce Shakespeare, qu'avant lui on ne regardait encore que comme un poète sauvage". Ducis's Shakespearean adaptations maintained their popularity for some fifty years; in 1809, for instance, an anonymous critic delivered the following noteworthy judgment: "Malgré les critiques de plusieurs journaux, "*Macbeth*" et "*Hamlet*" continuent d'attirer la foule... Le succès [de ces] deux ouvrages... ne peut point nuire, comme on l'a dit, à la scène française. Pourquoi n'aurait-on pas emprunté quelque chose aux tragiques anglais, comme Corneille lui-même l'a fait aux auteurs espagnols? Ces emprunts ne pourront jamais rien diminuer de l'admiration qu'on doit aux chefs-d'œuvre de nos grands maîtres" (33). The dramatist's right-hand man during the first quarter of the nineteenth century was Talma, of whom an almost-contemporary authority has remarked that "Tout son art était une véritable inspiration de Shakespeare"; the same writer (34) recalls the fact that Madame de Staël described the actor's "*manière de dire*" as a "*combinaison harmonieuse de Shakespeare et de Racine*". The comtesse d'Albany wrote (in 1810) : "Ses pièces favorites sont celles traduites de Shakes-

(30) I get this detail from C. Latreille's "*Fin du théâtre romantique*", 1899.

(31) Cf. however Géraud's words on Letourneur some six pages further on in this chapter.

(32) 1802, VI, 225.

(33) "*Magasin encyclopédique*", 1809, I, 179.

(34) P. Régnier : "*Souvenirs et études de théâtre*", 1887.

peare" (35) by Ducis; J. N. Bouilly, an exceedingly popular dramatist of the period, relates, in his informative "Récapitulations" (1837), that, at one of his celebrated suppers (36), Talma proposed the toast: "A l'art dramatique anglais! à l'immortel Shakespeare!"; and Bouffé, a comedian, observes that the great tragedian "disait que la vie d'un artiste suffirait à peine pour arriver à jouer bien des rôles du Misanthrope et de l'Hamlet de Shakespeare" (37). Both Moreau and Régnault-Warin in their recollections on Talma (38) bear out the truth of the general tenor of these observations.

Ducis and Talma were the principal agents in initiating the French public into the charm of Shakespeare, but other dramatists played their part in introducing lesser writers. Early in 1800 "on s'est avisé de mettre sur la scène les folies et l'imbroglio [de]... "Tristram Shandy"... Tout y est en zigzag, comme l'esprit de l'auteur anglais que le dramatisse français a pris pour guide et pour modèle. Dangereux modèle; l'originalité ne s'imité pas" (39). Much more important was the establishment of the Théâtre des Variétés étrangères (at the Salle du Théâtre Molière), which inspired T. D. to write in the "Magasin encyclopédique" (40) in January 1807: "C'est une entreprise assez neuve et qui promet aux amateurs de théâtre, une source de plaisirs variés. Le répertoire de cette nouvelle troupe, n'est composée que de pièces traduites des meilleurs auteurs étrangers. Il sera fort agréable de pouvoir, sans sortir de Paris, assister à la représentation des ouvrages de Shakespeare, de Garrick, d'Ifland, de Kotzebue, de Schiller, et de vingt autres dont les productions étaient perdues pour nous, du moins sur la scène".

Shakespeare's influence was certainly spreading. L. B. Picard connaissait Shakespeare" (41) and N. Lemercier by calling his "Christophe Colomb" (1809) a "comédie Shakespearienne" drew on himself the following implied censure: "Pourquoi M. Lemercier, qui a de la verve et du talent, veut-il franchir les

(35) "Lettres de la comtesse d'Albany au chevalier de Sobirats", pub. at Monaco in 1916.

(36) Talma tended, in fact, to overdo hospitality. For an excellent account of T., see Mounet-Sully's article, "Talma et le théâtre de Talma au temps de l'Empire" in the "Revue hebdomadaire" of Feb. and March 1908.

(37) "Mes Souvenirs, 1800-1880", issued at the latter date.

(38) Published in 1827.

(39) Labouisse-Rochefort: "Trente ans de ma vie" (8 voll., 1844-1848), V, 47.

(40) 1807, I, 178-179.

(41) A. Dufaÿ in the "Revue de Paris", Jan. 1842 (article on Picard).

barrières établies?" (42). So that Jules Janin certainly overstepped the mark when he wrote: "Je ne pense guère que les grands auteurs dramatiques de l'année 1810 eussent beaucoup entendu parler d'un certain Shakespeare... En ce temps-là Shakespeare était bien loin de nous et de notre théâtre. Shakespeare était encore un barbare, pris de vin, bon, tout au plus à amuser les matelots de la Tamise. En ce temps-là, la France dramatique eût donné "Le Roi Lear" tout entier, et par-dessus le marché "Othello" et "Macbeth" pour "les deux Gendres" de M. Etienne" (43).

Sometimes the French dramatists imitated much less worthy playwrights. The one-act vaudeville, "Les Etourdis en voyage" (44) (probably late 1813) was taken from an English piece that had already furnished the subject of the "Déjeuner de garçon" at another theatre, while "La petite Intrigue épistolaire" (1814), (45) a "comédie-vaudeville", was copied from one of Murphy's plays, the adapter of which made no bones about using the translation with few alterations. Not only Parisian dramatists but French travellers in England approved of the foreign theatre; to quote Boucher de Perthes, who in 1815 said of his trip among the people across the Channel: "Il est vrai que leurs comédies, comme leurs opéras-vaudevilles, ne sont pas très propres à réveiller... Quant à leurs tragédies, c'est autre chose. J'ai vu jouer "Hamlet" par Young et mistriss Mathew, et j'en ai été très satisfait. Le mélodrame est beaucoup mieux rendu qu'à Paris, parce qu'on y emploie les bons acteurs" (46). In 1816, approval was translated into action: Shakespeare's "King John" served as a model to a five-act piece; "à quelques changements de nom près, la tragédie d'"Arthur de Bretagne" est le même sujet que celui du tragique anglais" (47). The same year, the actors of the Comédie-Française gave a dinner to Kemble; the conversation turned naturally on French and English literature (48).

(42) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1809, II, 171.

(43) "Journal des Débats", 20th Feb., 1837. N. B. "Les Deux Gendres" derived from "Lear".

(44) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1814, I, 416.

(45) *Ibidem*, 1814, VI, 398.

(46) "Sous Dix Rois. Souvenirs de 1791 à 1868" (8 voll., 1863), vol. III, letter CCCLXXXI.

(47) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1816, I, 425.

(48) "Mémoires de Samson de la Comédie-Française", 1882 (2nd ed.).

Apparently by about 1819, it was considered a distinction to have helped vulgarise English drama on the French stage, for we find Famin sending to the "*Journal des théâtres*" a letter in which he said that, some years before, he had imitated "*The School for Scandal*" as "*l'Ecole de la Médisance*", played at the *Théâtre des Variétés Etrangères*, and printed soon after. "*J'ai de même imité*", he added "*une autre pièce anglaise intitulée : 'The Busybody'*". Ma pièce a été jouée avec succès au *Théâtre-Français*, sous le titre de "*l'Obligéant Maladroit*". Elle a été également imprimée" (49).

The French novel was, during these early years, little affected by English influence, and we observe merely that numerous now long-forgotten novels were translated, and that at the beginning of 1801 Maria Roche's "*Visite nocturne*" not only elicited the reflection that "*Un titre annonçant quelque chose de mystérieux, le nom d'une célèbre romancière anglaise, en voilà plus qu'il n'en faut pour exciter la curiosité des lecteurs français*", but moved the reviewer to affirm that "*La grande fécondité des Anglais, en fait de romans, semblera toujours étonnante et pourrait effrayer si l'on ne voyait pas cette marchandise se débiter rapidement, et le nombre des amateurs croître tous les jours*" (50); further, no good novels à la Scott seem to have appeared before 1820 (51).

For history, the case was rather similar. The English historians commanded respect and tempered admiration but did not create a school in France: in the "*Magasin encyclopédique*" of April 1801 was a short digression favourable to such English historians as had treated of Rome; J. J. Coulmann (52) relates that in 1814 Ch. Lacretelle gave him a list of thirty-five historical works, including six by English writers: Hume, Smollett, Gibbon, Robertson and Cox; in 1818, Auguste Comte recommended his friend Valat to read Hume (especially) and Robertson (53). Moreover, Scott's reaction on history had doubtless begun somewhere between these last two dates, but no work

49) "*Journal des Théâtres*", 30th May 1820.

(50) "*Magasin encyclopédique*", 1801, I, 144; the critic is J. B. J. Breton.

(51) Or at least I have seen none reviewed.

(52) In vol. I of his "*Réminiscences*", 3 vol., 1862-1869.

(53) Comte: "*Lettres à Valat*" (1879) at date, 15th May, 1818.

directly and powerfully influenced by his historical method appeared until after 1820 (54).

Not only in poetry and drama, the novel and history, but also in less important genres and in sub-divisions of genres, was the heaven of English thought and form operating. For philosophy, we may note that the "*Magasin encyclopédique*" of February 1801 contained a translation of Bolingbroke's essay, the "*True Use of Retirement and Study*", and the "*Journal des Savants*" of August 1817 Victor Cousin's fourth and last article on the Moral Philosophy of Dugald Stewart. More pronounced was the influence on political theory. Philarète Chasles (55) states that during the years 1810-1830, the bourgeoisie largely followed English ideas in politics (and, indeed, in intellectual matters in general) as conveyed by the powerful "*groupe anglo-genevois*", which included B. Constant, Dumont, Bonstetten, Sismondi and Madame de Staël, while Villemain (56) informs us that the salon of the duchesse de Duras—a salon that flourished from 1814 to 1827—had a monarchic tendency, considerably modified by English "constitutionalism" and French liberalism.

Even in the Fine Arts, "*les écrivains d'Outre-Manche*" were given a good hearing: the "*Magasin encyclopédique*" for January 1803 accorded an eight-page "*Notice bibliographique des ouvrages qui ont paru en Angleterre sur la théorie et l'histoire des Beaux-Arts, pendant les années 1799 et 1800*", and the same periodical, in July 1907, honoured with a similar-length review "*Les Beaux-Arts en Angleterre*" as translated from Dallaway's original by M. and edited, with the addition of notes, by A. L. Millin. Still more astonishing is the fact that in 1812 appeared de Charbonnières's verse translation (in one volume) (57) of Pope's "*Essay on Criticism*", Buckingham's "*Essay on Poetry*" and Roscommon's "*Essay on Translated Verse*", on which D. (probably Depping or Durdent) contributed a favourable critique.

Less to be wondered at is the interest and respect aroused, during the latter part of the "Approach" period, by the English press. Frénilly tells us that "*Le 'Times' imprima [en 1815] un*

(54) See *passim* the "*Souvenirs du baron de Barante*" (8 voll., 1890-1901), voll. I and II; "*Augustin Thierry d'après sa correspondance et ses papiers de famille*", 1922; and Michelet: "*Ma Jeunesse*", 1884.

(55) Near end of voll. II of his "*Mémoires*", 1876-1877.

(56) "*Souvenirs contemporains*", II, 465 (pagination of the 1874 edition).

(57) See the "*Magasin encyclopédique*", 1812, II, 451-458.

article fulminant contre [Mathieu Molé].... Je fis une réfutation froide et impartiale.... Ma réfutation parut dans le 'Times' ; le "Journal des Débats" la traduisit à Paris" (58), a quotation that goes to prove that the French journalists of the day watched at least the chief English periodicals. Frénilly also speaks of the great reputation that the "Times" had in France about 1820; "le Constitutionnel" of the 4th May 1819, for example, contained a long extract from that newspaper. The "Revue encyclopédique", in the interesting "Prospectus" (written in 1818), states that "D'autres recueils du même genre, publiés avec succès dans les pays étrangers, nous serviront de guides, et nous fourniront plus d'une fois des matériaux précieux" and that "Notre "Revue Encyclopédique", établie sur le plan de quelques journaux anglais et allemands qui jouissent d'une grande célébrité, vient occuper une place restée jusqu'à présent vacante en France, et remplir une lacune que plusieurs bons esprits avaient remarquée".

So steady an infiltration of English thought, (to a lesser degree) sentiment, and literary method was naturally accompanied and in part determined by numerous translations of a considerable variety of authors. The most important translator of the years 1800-1819, let it be said without paradox, was Letourneur, whose work caused the prudent Géraud in 1807 to write in his Journal: "M. Letourneur a traduit Young, Shakespeare et Richardson. Il a prouvé qu'avec un talent ordinaire on pouvait *par hasard* faire révolution en littérature. On ne connaissait point Ossian en France quand il en fit paraître une imitation ; et cet Ossian, qui ne fut d'abord que très peu lu, est depuis douze ans très en vogue..... M. Letourneur a donc imprimé une nouvelle direction à notre poésie" (59). We must not, however, forget a later translator, who, though less ambitious, did at last render poetry in verse form. Kérivalant (1752-1815) received the following mention from one of his younger contemporaries: "Parmi les pièces de vers qui parurent, les hommes de goût distinguèrent l' 'Hymne au Créateur', de Thomson ; le 'Cimetière de Campagne' de Gray ; le 'Coin du feu', du docteur Cotton ; l' 'Hymne de reconnaissance', d'Addison et la 'Prière universelle' de Pope ; morceaux traduits de l'anglais, et dans lesquels sa

(58) "Souvenirs du Baron de Frénilly", ed. by A. Chuquet, 1909 ; page 378.

(59) "Un homme de lettres sous l'Empire et la Restauration".

muse luttâ avec avantage contre plusieurs de nos poètes illustres qui tentèrent aussi l'imitation de ces mêmes poètes" (60). All these translations, except that from Cotton, appeared (61) in a book published by Kérivalant in 1808. More famous, Baour-Lormian aimed higher: in 1801 he issued the "Poésies d'Ossian", to which his "coevals" frequently allude, and ten years later he brought out the "Veillées poétiques et morales", a very free translation from Young's "Night Thoughts". His "Ossian" reached in 1809 its third edition ("corrigée et augmentée") (62). The "Veillées poétiques" won praise almost as warm, popularity almost as great: soon after its publication, M. F. Fayolle, forgetting Letourneur's version, remarked that "C'est à M. Baour-Lormian, heureux traducteur d'Ossian, qu'était réservée la gloire de naturaliser pour nous les beautés d'Young, dans ses Veillées....; ouvrage où le poète français, tour à tour original et imitateur, doit toujours servir de modèle"; in 1819, this work and the "Ossian" were printed, with the addition of delightful engravings, for the fourth time (63). It may here be noted that M. J. Chénier had made translations and imitations from Ossian: "J'y remarque en général", says A. F. Théry, "de la facilité, de l'harmonie et de l'élégance, quelquefois des néologismes" (64). Delille too was famed as a translator; his version of "Paradise Lost" has very considerable merit. At London, in 1800-1801, he "fit en quinze mois... la traduction du "Paradis perdu", le plus brillant... de ses titres à l'immortalité", says Chazet (65), who went into ecstasies over it. Miltonic blank verse evidently appealed to translators: J. P. F. Deleuze in the first years of the century put into French Thomson's "Seasons", and, on reaching its second edition in 1806, this rendering was called "élégante" by A. L. Millin, who added: "Il nous reste à engager M. Deleuze, si versé dans la littérature anglaise, et qui a si bien étudié Thomson, à traduire ses autres poèmes. La notice précieuse qu'il en donne, les beautés dont ils brillent nous permettent d'assurer que ce travail ne ferait qu'ajouter à la gloire du poète anglais et à la sienne propre" (66). Pope's "Universal Prayer"

(60) Labouisse-Rochefort: "Trente ans de ma vie", VIII, 562.

(61) As we see by the "Magasin encyclopédique", 1809, III, 219.

(62) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1809, V, 221.

(63) "Le Constitutionnel", 7th July, 1819.

(64) "Le Lycée français", V, 276; that is, in 1820.

(65) R. A. P. de Chazet: "Mémoires, souvenirs" (3 voll., 1837), II, 62.

(66) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1806, I, 221-222.

figured in the October number of the "Magasin encyclopédique", with a verse translation by E. B., who supplied an amplified commentary on the character of the piece, held by him to be great poetry. Gray's "Elegy" attracted much attention: the "Magasin" published in June 1805 Kérivalant's, and in August 1812 Fayolle's, rendering into verse; the latter translator attached thereto some valuable "Remarques", from which we must quote the following passage: "Madame Necker, a la première traduit 'le Cimetière' de Gray. Après elle, plusieurs poètes ont imité cette élogie; mais aucun n'a cherché à rendre les idées et la couleur de l'original", and the useful footnote: "De toutes les traductions françaises en prose..., la meilleure est sans contredit celle de M. Cabanis" (67); further on: "Parmi nos poètes, ceux qui ont rendu le 'Cimetière' de Gray avec le plus de succès, sont MM. de Chénier, Grenus, Kérivalant, Adrien de Sarrazin, Gaston, etc. M. de Chateaubriand en a fait une traduction (68) en vers qui n'a pas été publiée". Fayolle's translation was read before the Société Philotechnique (69) late in the year of its publication, when (70) the same writer's version (71) of the Eton ode also appeared.

Not only the mass and the various genres of English literature, but also certain individual writers, had a general rather than a specific influence. Of early writers only Shakespeare and Milton (especially the former) exercised at all powerfully the men of this period of approach. Now, Shakespeare had, late in the eighteenth century, been heralded in a very practical manner: Sébastien Mercier, in his "Mort de Louis XI" (72), illustrated what he thought a Shakespearean play should be, and this piece "est probablement le premier drame qui fut composé en France dans la manière de Shakespeare" (73); in his "Tableau de Paris", printed 1781-1789, he wrote: "Jeunes écrivains, voulez-vous connaître l'art, voulez-vous le faire sortir des bornes puériles dont il est enchaîné? Laissez là les "périodistes" et leur préceptes "cadavéreux": lisez Shakespeare, non pour le copier, mais pour vous pénétrer de sa manière grande et aisée, simple, natu-

(67) These two quotations come in 1812, IV, 388, while the next is taken from page 391.

(68) It was familiar to his wide circle of friends and acquaintances.

(69) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1812, V, 436. (70) *Ibid.*, III, 399.

(71) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1812, III, 399. (72) Printed in the year 1783.

(73) "Le Globe", 5th May 1827, p. 72; article by Ad. — Cf. Saint-Marc-Girardin in the "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1827, XVI, 318. The quotation from Mercier also comes in the "Globe" article.

relle, forte, éloquente ; étudiez-le comme le fidèle interprète de la nature ; et vous verrez bientôt toutes ces petites tragédies étranglées, uniformes, sans vérité et sans mouvement, ne vous offrir qu'une sécheresse et une maigreur hideuse". The very fact that this play was reprinted in 1827 tends to invalidate the statement commonly made at this latter date : that "La Mort de Louis XI" had fallen into oblivion. One may doubt that a rather daring play by so well known a writer should be forgotten only a few years after his death in 1814; it is more likely that this practical example, and the more significant observations either accompanying or at least concerning it, should, backed-up as they were by Letourneur's translation of Shakespeare, have set men of letters thinking about the dramatic system of the great English playwright, who (according to Delécluze) came to be pretty generally read and admired at the beginning of the nineteenth century (74). It was early in 1804, by the way, that A. Duval's "Shakespeare amoureux, ou la Pièce à l'étude" (75) was played and published ; the next year, a critic, reviewing Schiller's "William Tell", asserted that "Des beautés du premier ordre font aisément pardonner des défauts contre les règles. Celui qui nierait ce principe, doit condamner la plupart des tragédies de Shakespeare" (76); in 1807 the mainly-classic Edmond Géraud grudgingly made this entry in his Journal : "La colère [de Voltaire] contre Shakespeare est naturelle et légitime... Il y aurait pourtant bien des choses à répondre. Quand Shakespeare est sublime et il l'est souvent, ses traits valent bien ceux de notre Corneille. Il tombe parfois dans le bas, mais peut-on accuser un poète de s'accommoder aux mœurs de sa nation et de son théâtre ?... Il se créa lui-même..... Si Shakespeare eût composé en France il y a cinquante ans, on doit croire qu'il eût été le rival de nos grands tragiques, et qu'il eût donné à l'art un caractère nouveau". Two years later, Madame de Staël wrote to Talma with regard to Ducis's "Hamlet" : "Il y a dans cette pièce, toute défectueuse qu'elle est, un débris d'une tragédie plus forte que la nôtre" (77), and Madame de Duras volunteered the following

(74) E. g. the comtesse d'Albany refers to "Lear" in her letter of 11th Dec. 1802 ; see the "Lettres inédites de la comtesse D'Albany", ed. by L. G. Pélissier, 3 vols., 1912-1915.

(75) For a contemporary review, see the "Magasin encyclopédique", "1803", IV, 536-537.

(76) *Ibidem*, 1805, II, 292.

(77) See entries at (about June) 1809 in "Un Homme de lettres sous l'Empire et la Restauration". Preceding citation comes from the same book.

piece of information to a friend: "Je lis les tragédies d'Alfieri... J'y trouve des beautés dignes de Shakespeare" (78). In 1813, "Le Mercure étranger" gave two interesting indications (79) of the position that Shakespeare was gradually winning in France: Durdent called him "ce génie extraordinaire"; D.-T. in his "Observations sur une dissertation anglaise, intitulée: "Superiority of Shakespeare all other Dramatic writers" made numerous short quotations from this hyper-eulogistic composition, remarked that the real friends of Shakespeare "diront que cet homme de génie, convenablement étudié, peut ouvrir un grand nombre de nouvelles sources à l'art tragique chez les nations étrangères, et même en France", and added that French writers, following the example of Voltaire and Ducis, "sauront naturaliser chez nous des beautés dont le tragique anglais leur aura fourni l'idée première" (80). In 1817 the "Journal des Savants" had a notice on Hazlitt's "Characters of Shakespeare's Plays" (81) and the "Annales encyclopédiques" (82) translated J. Britton's "Remarks on the Bust of Shakespeare". The following year saw not only several authoritative reviews (83) of Nathan Drake's "Shakespeare and his Times" but also the "Prospectus d'une traduction nouvelle des OEuvres de Shakespeare", a venture worthy of comment. "Cette traduction", we read in the "Journal des Savants" of July 1818, "qui sera suivie de commentaires historiques et critiques, est entreprise par une société des gens de lettres, sous la direction du chevalier John Byerly, littérateur anglais. Le tome 1^{er} commencera par une vie de Shakespeare, où l'on profitera des documents récemment publiés... Les traducteurs annoncent l'intention de se borner à de simples extraits de quelques pièces d'un mérite inférieur, ou dont l'authenticité semble douteuse: peut-être vaudrait-il mieux ne laisser rien d'incomplet dans cette collection nouvelle" (84). It may also be noted that Léon Thiessé, reviewing Davrigni's tragedy "Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen", in 1819, alluded (85) favourably to Sakespeare. But

(78) Letter of 16th June 1809: see G. Pailhès' "La Duchesse de Duras et Châteaubriand", 1910.

(79) Vol. I. p. 81, for the first.

(80) For both these quoted sentences, see "Le Mercure étranger", I, 203 ff.

(81) Cf. the "Annales encyclopédiques", 1818, III, 99-100.

(82) V, 5 ff.

(83) E. g. "Le Journal des Savants" for June and the "Annales encyclopédiques", III.

(84) Cf. the "Annales encyclopédiques", 1818, V, 176 (where we find the spelling "Beyerley").

(85) "Revue encyclopédique", August, 1819, p. 505.

not all critics during this early period felt favourably towards the English dramatist, and it may perhaps suffice to transcribe the words of Gaschon de Molènes (86) on a famous upholder of the French "Classics": "Geffroy s'attaqua à Shakespeare... Sans attendre de Geffroy la fougueuse admiration de Goëthe, on pouvait du moins exiger de lui plus de circonscription et plus de respect pour l'un de ces poètes qui sont l'honneur d'un peuple"; G. de Molènes then quoted that "Die-hard"'s ukase: "Les œuvres de Shakespeare sont du fumier. Il est nécessaire de faire rougir ses adorateurs du culte superstitieux qu'ils lui rendent". That indeed was an extreme opinion, foreign to the courtesy of French writers; and their general attitude, in 1819 at any rate, was better indicated by Delécluze, when, in his "Souvenirs", he related of the "Lycée français" group (composed of Stapfer, Monod, A. Bouffé and the memoirist himself), that "On lut et l'on expliqua tantôt des Chants de Milton, mais plus habituellement les drames de Shakespeare. Le "Paradis perdu" avait déjà une teinte classique dont les jeunes lecteurs ne s'arrangeaient pas, tandis que l'auteur d' "Othello" et de "Hamlet" convenait infiniment mieux à de jeunes imaginations ébranlées déjà par les hardiesses de lord Byron".

Milton, however, did not, to the majority of critics in "the years of approach", appear very "classical"; and with practically everyone he stood for a genius—a genius greater than Shakespeare. In 1803 came the "Choix des plus-beaux morceaux du Paradis perdu de Milton, traduits en vers par Louis Racine et Nivernois, avec une notice sur sa vie, et l'analyse d'Addison sur ce poème" (87); the next year, J. Mosneron issued his "Vie de Milton", which, according to A. L. Millin (88), contained no fresh material but presented the facts very clearly and pleasantly, and, in the September number of the "Magasin encyclopédique", E. B. bestowed an enthusiastic passage on "Paradise Lost", which he praised for its sublimity, its originality and vigour, and its splendid diction; still a year later, Dacier (89), in a paper read before the Academy, first said that "jamais Muse n'éleva si haut son vol" and then compared the English poet with Klopstock.

(86) "Revue de Paris", July 1841, article by de Molènes. — Variant spelling, "Geffroy".

(87) See the "Magasin encyclopédique", 1803, II, 282.

(88) *Ibidem*, "1800-1804, IV, 562; Millin, by the way, calls the poet "l'Homère anglais".

(89) *Ibid.*, 1805, II, 364.

He was certainly well liked in official literary circles, for at the proceedings of the Institut de France, "Le grand prix pour l'auteur du meilleur poème épique ne fut pas décerné. Le jury désigna à l'Empereur, pour quelques distinctions particulières, l'auteur de la traduction en vers de l'Enéide et du "Paradis Perdu", l'abbé Delille" (90). Milton greatly interested two rather aristocratic writers: Madame de Genlis in 1811 (91) advised Casimir Baecker to read "Paradise Lost", and Boucher de Perthes wrote to his father the following year: "Vous avez, je crois,... une bonne édition de Milton: voulez-vous me l'envoyer? J'ai besoin de lire 'le Paradis perdu' pour un travail que j'ai entrepris. C'est Milton lui-même, et non sa traduction, que je désire avoir" (92), while a few months later he told a friend how attractive he found the character of Satan. And Ch. Brifaut, the dramatist, relates, in a passage that points to the position awarded to the English poet by his admirers, how, in company with some of Milton's compatriots (they were women), he went to see Delille, whom he addressed thus: "Monsieur, vous voyez une députation de la France et de l'Angleterre qui vient saluer Virgile et adorer Milton" (93).

Of English writers of the first half of the eighteenth century, none was looked-up-to so much as Milton. Nevertheless, Defoe, Swift, Richardson, Thomson, Pope, Young, and Gray attracted much notice in the first score years of the next century. Defoe for his "Robinson Crusoe". Jules Simon tells us that when he was a boy, " 'Robinson' surtout faisait ma joie, et je le relisais certainement trois ou quatre fois chaque année" (94), a practice that he probably started at the end of our period; the quotation serves of course to show that at this time "Robinson" was considered good reading for boys. The tale must have been familiar to many adults too, as we see by such a fact as this: "Robinson était le sobriquet facétieux qu'on donnait... à Vienne à l'illustre prisonnier de l'île d'Elbe" (95). Likewise, Swift was rarely

(90) Dr. L. Véron: "Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris", (6 voll., 1853-1855), vol. I.

(91) "Lettres inédites de Mme de Genlis à Casimir Baecker", 1922, at December 1811.

(92) "Sous Dix Rois", II, letter no. CCLXIV. The second reference figures in the same volume, letter no. CCXCVI.

(93) See the "Souvenirs d'un académicien", ed. by Cabanès, 2 voll., 1920-1921.

(94) "Nouveaux mémoires des autres", 1891.

(95) Comtesse de Bassanville: "Les Salons d'autrefois. Souvenirs intimes" (4 voll., 1862-1870), II, 7 (according to paging of new edition).

anything else than the author of "Gulliver's Travels". Late in 1815 Sewrin's one-act vaudeville, "Gulliver dans l'île des Géants" (96), was successfully staged at the Variétés. Richardson, however, was, during these early years more popular than either Defoe or Swift. According to Stendhal in "La Vie de Henri Boulard", "Clarissa Harlowe" became "the breviary of the provincials" about 1800, and in 1812 it furnished the subject of a comedy, "La Lecture de Clarisse" (97), which dealt with a family "mad on" Richardson's novel. Three years later, Madame de Rémusat wrote to a friend : "C'est toujours par la même lecture de "Clarisse" que nous terminons nos journées" (98). J. N. Barba, speaking of his intimate compaignon, Pigault-Lebrun, says : "Je lui proposais... de donner une nouvelle édition du roman de "Clarisse", en en retranchant les longueurs : 'J'aimerais mieux me couper le bras, répondit-il, que de mutiler ce chef-d'œuvre'" (99). To give a more general proof of Richardson's fame and popularity : A. de Tocqueville, as a Frenchman, once said to N. W. Senior, as an Englishman : "When I was young you probably had ceased to be familiar with Richardson. We knew him by heart. We used to weep over the lady Clementina... During the first Empire, we of the old "régime"... used to live in our châteaux, where I remember as a boy hearing Sir Charles Grandison and Fielding read aloud" (100) ; but Fielding was rarely mentioned until after 1820. Of the poets, Thomson rather commanded respectful admiration than invited imitation ; about 1807, Nodier (101), concerning a mountain-district, acknowledged that he would try, in vain to describe it, and said that, to do it, "one would need the pen of Thomson or Gessner" ; in the April 1811 issue of the "Magasin encyclopédique" (102), R. Chamséru, reviewing a work on medical botany, quoted from "The Seasons" some very apt lines on the virtues of plants ; and the "Revue encyclopédique" (103), for March 1819 contained a favourable notice on certain unedited poems by Thomson. Pope, on the

(96) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1815, VI, 416-418.

(97) *Ibidem*, 1812, V, 438.

(98) "Correspondance de M. de Rémusat" (6 voll., 1883-1886), I, at date of 10th June 1815.

(99) See his "Souvenirs", 1846.

(100) "Correspondence and Conversations of A. de Tocqueville with N. W. Senior from 1834 to 1859" (2 voll., 1872, London), Vol. I.

(101) "Correspondance inédite de Charles Nodier", ed. by A. Estignard, 1876, at "about 1807".

(102) 1811, II, 430. (103) March 1819, in "Nouvelles littéraires", p. 542.

other hand, spurred the French to imitation as well as exciting their admiration. E. T. M., Ourry's verse translation (104) of the "Rape of the Lock" met with warm praise, Labouisse-Rochefort gave in his "Trente ans de ma vie" (105) a short poem imitated from Pope in 1804, and, eight years later, D. went so far as to assert that this writter "est, de tous les poètes anglais, celui que nos littérateurs préfèrent le plus généralement" (106). While Pope was admired for his his wit and chiselled form, Young was regarded with great interest for his sombre melancholy. Edmond Géraud (107) relates that at first Young repelled him, but that he came to re-read him often; and the diarist, in a letter written in 1805, described some of the "Nights" as "perfect" and as containing "des traits de la plus grande beauté". The author of "Night Thoughts" was generally mentioned in company with the composer of the "Meditations among the Tombs": "J'ai été enfin voir l'église de Brou", wrote A. M. Ampère to his wife in 1802: "Je veux en envoyer une belle description à ma sœur Julie, lui faire une superbe lettre tragique, mélancolique et sépulcrale. Je me souviens qu'elle aime Hervé et Young" (108), while Tenant de Latour (born about 1795) related (109) that, in his youth, he read Young and Hervey a lot and passed from translations to the originals. Gray, considered almost solely as the poet of the "Elegy", appealed in a somewhat similar manner; in fact the French have read too much sadness into his work. (Not that I insinuate he was a "rollicking songster"). Stendhal (110) noted in his diary that, when he first took up Gray, he stayed awake till two in the morning; the 1816 edition (III) of his "Works" was announced in the French press a year later.

The English writers that flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century received a little less attention from the memoirists and critics of the "period of approach". No Englishman of 1700-1750, however, enjoyed such popularity and exer-

(104) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1802, II, 284-285.

(105) VI, 41.

(106) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1812, II, 451.

(107) See "Un Homme de lettres sous l'Empire et la Restauration".

(108) "Journal et correspondance d'A. M. Ampère", 1872.

(109) "Mémoires d'un bibliophile", 1861.

(110) "Journal de Stendhal", 1888; at entry of 28th April, 1810.

(111) E. g. "Annales encyclopédiques", 1817, II, 191, and "Journal des Savants", Feb. 1817.

cised so much influence on the years 1800-1819 as "Ossian" (112). Edmond Géraud supplies an extremely valuable piece of evidence. In his *Journal* (113) he noted for the month Thermidor, an VII (1799) : "Je ne pense pas qu'on doive se borner à traduire les chants d'Ossian. Il me paraîtrait plus agréable et plus glorieux à la fois d'inventer dans sa manière de nouveaux épisodes, auxquels on pourrait conserver cette couleur mélancolique et sauvage que nous aimons. C'est une mine toute neuve à exploiter ; tant pis pour qui la dédaigne. Voltaire a dit qu' "on faisait du Virgile quand on pouvait et de l'Ossian quand on voulait"... J'incline cependant à penser que non seulement il lui eût été impossible de faire de l' "Ossian"... , mais encore d'apprécier tout ce qu'il y a de sublime dans les chants du Barde... La plupart des imitateurs d'Ossian, dans ces derniers temps, se sont assez bien chargés de démontrer toute la fausseté de la sentence de Voltaire. A la vue de leurs malheureux essais, je ne doute pas que lui-même n'eût pris condamnation. Ce qu'il y a de fâcheux néanmoins, c'est que les littérateurs, peut-être très estimables d'ailleurs, prétendent juger Ossian d'après de pareilles sottises". Delécluze (114) provides a passage that shows Géraud's conviction to have been shared by others ; referring to the decade 1800-1809, he says that "Bonaparte, à son retour d'Egypte, s'étant pris de passion pour les prétendues "poésies d'Ossian", en avait répandu le goût en France. Ce goût devint un engouement ; et les chants vagues et monotones du barde séduisirent précisément par l'étrangeté des mœurs qui y sont peintes, par les formes inusitées du langage. Bien que la grécomanie fût alors poussée à l'extrême, Ossian balança la gloire d'Homère, et les poètes ainsi que les peintres rivalisèrent d'efforts pour célébrer les hauts faits de Fingal, la beauté et les tendresses de Malvina". In 1801, the anonymous reviewer of Baour-Lormian's "Poésies galliques, en vers français", made the following observation (115) : "Dix ans de révolution ont changé nos habitudes et nos goûts. Nous nous sommes sentis portés de préférence vers les ouvrages mélancoliques. Les chants du barde presque oubliés, ont été lus de nouveau, et Ossian comptait aujourd'hui des apologistes ardents, et

(112) Those who wish general information will of course refer to A. Tedeschi's "Ossian, l'Homère du Nord, en France", pub. at Milan in 1911, and P. van Tieghem's "Ossian en France", 1917.

(113) "Un Homme de lettres sous l'Empire et la Restauration".

(114) "Souvenirs de soixante ans".

(115) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1801, I, 51-52.

des détracteurs enchaînés... Dans cet état d'incertitude littéraire, Baour Lormian vient de publier son "Imitation des poésies galiques", et le succès général qu'il a obtenu prouve plus en faveur d'Ossian que tout ce qu'on avait écrit sur lui jusqu'à ce jour"

Two years after, Stendhal to Edouard Mounier thus : "Vous savez que la Delphine [de Mme de Staël] a infatué toutes les jolies femmes du style ossianique" (116). Ossian was actually imitated on the stage: "Les Bardes", an opera (words by Baour-Lormian, music by Lesueur), first played in 1805 (117), had a very successful run ; in 1806 appeared "Uthal" (118), another opera derived from the same source. The following year, Géraud jotted down in his diary, concerning Ossian: "Tous nos poètes l'ont imité tour à tour, Chénier, Parny, Fontanes et mille autres. Enfin Baour-Lormian en a donné une imitation en vers, et c'est encore son premier titre littéraire... On parle beaucoup d'Ossian, on aime à le lire encore". In 1811, Madame Genlis, in a letter (119) to Casimir Baecker, who afterwards set the verses to music, enclosed a eulogistic poem on "Ce barde intrépide et fameux, Le superbe Ossian" ; and two years later, we find S. N.'s interesting remarks on E. M. Masse's "L'Education, poème, suivi de Poésies diverses" : "Après le poème... viennent deux imitations d'Ossian. On y trouve de la verve et de la poésie. Sans doute, l'auteur les a écrites dans un moment d'inspiration... Imiter ces poésies de sang-froid, c'est en faire ressortir tous les défauts" (120). Ossian apparently lost ground in France after 1813, but, for all that, he maintained a popularity by no means negligible. Sterne, who also appealed to sentiment, was a steady favourite, though not nearly so much imitated as he had been in the eighteenth century (121). In 1801 appeared Paulin Crasson's translation of "The Sentimental Journey" : "Le nouveau traducteur de Sterne s'est attaché à rendre l'ouvrage original avec une exactitude qui lui a permis de faire connaître les inexactitudes... des traducteurs qui l'ont précédé... Il a dû craindre, cependant, que sa scrupuleuse précision ne fût pas appréciée par les lecteurs français, comme elle doit l'être" (122). After an interval of

(116) "Correspondance de Stendhal", letter of 26th March 1803.

(117) Véron : "Mémoires d'un bourgeois", vol. I.

(118) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1806, III, 433.

(119) "Lettres inédites de Mme de Genlis à Casimir Baecker", at date of 18th Nov., 1811.

(120) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1831, VI, 211.

(121) See F. Barton's "L'Influence de Laurence Sterne en France au XVIII^e siècle", 1911.

(122) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1801, VI, 431.

seventeen years appeared Sterne's complete works, translated by a group of men of letters (123). In 1810 Labouisse-Rochefort, concerning an event noted at the time, had written; "J'ai voulu décrire le tableau que j'avais eu sous les yeux, et comme je venais naguère de relire le "Voyage sentimental" de Sterne, j'ai composé ce morceau dans le même genre" (the "fragment dans le genre de Sterne" following immediately) (124). The English historians of 1750-1800, on the other hand, were quietly appreciated but little mentioned; Gibbon occupied the chief place (125). Among writers of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, two poets, Cowper and Crabbe, and two novelists, Anne Radcliffe and Lewis, were occasionally cited, but while the former pair were little read, the latter (126) enjoyed a noteworthy popularity (which waned considerably, after 1814 or thereabouts). Cowper won a quiet esteem; "Je suis persuadée", wrote Madame de Duras to Rosalie de Constant in 1809, "que... vous aimeriez... à lire avec moi quelques-uns de nos livres favoris. J'aime beaucoup les vers de Cowper; j'en connaissais de charmants de cet auteur, mais pas ceux-là" (127), and his "Works" received a note in the "Journal des Savants" of August 1817. Crabbe became known in France rather later. In January 1814, however, Durdent (128) ably criticised his "Tales". "M. Crabbe est un de ces observateurs spirituels de l'homme en société, qui aiment à instruire en plaisantant, et pensent que pour corriger notre espèce..., le ridicule vaut mieux que la dureté. Quand les censeurs de cette sorte ont, comme lui, un vrai talent, ils sont à peu près sûrs de captiver les suffrages des lecteurs. Aussi les jolis contes de M. Crabbe ont-ils un grand succès chez ses compatriotes". An anonymous critic, in the "Revue encyclopédique" of 1819 (129), had something to say of English poets, and, having mentioned Byron and Moore, spoke of Crabbe as "un troisième poète favori" and an "aimable écrivain". Much more general, much more vulgar was the success of Anne Radcliffe and Lewis. The vogue (130) of Mrs. Radcliffe's novels, which was tremendous, deve-

(123) "Journal des savants", October 1818.

(124) "Trente ans de ma vie", VII, 557.

(125) See, e. g., "Le Mercure étranger", voll. IV, (i. e. 1816), 106 ff., and the "Magasin encyclopédique" passim for occasional refs.

(126) See A. M. Killen's "Le Roman terrifiant", 1915.

(127) G. Pailhès: "La Duchesse de Duras", letter of 16th July, 1809.

(128) "Le Mercure étranger", III, 31.

(129) Sept. 1819, "Nouvelles littéraires" section, p. 569.

(130) Delécluze.

loped simultaneously with that of Ossian. Madame de Staël (131) knew she was safe when, to make a comparison sombrely effective, she mentioned Udolpho; Paul de Kock (132) in 1811 heard a woman ask for "Les Mystères d'Udolphe" in very amusing circumstances; about the same time, Gavarni (the artist) (133) used, as a boy, to go to a reading room, where he generally looked for Anne Radcliffe's novels; a few years later, Paccard (134) employed one of her romantic phrases for an epigraph to his novel, "Le Château du Lac". Lewis had a similar vogue, almost solely on the strength of "The Monk". Boucher de Perthes (135) wrote an amusing poem about this tale, which he hadn't read at the time (1812),—the period referred to by the critic that in 1843 said"... [Le] Moine", presque aussi célèbre chez nous, il y a trente ans, qu'il l'était au-delà de la Manche" (136).

The main body of English Romantics, excepting Byron and Scott (as novelist), had been writing some years before they won mention in France. Rogers, for instance, had reached old age when, in 1819, Charles Loyson (137) reviewed "Human Life" at length in the "Lycée français" and made many general observations, and when J.-L. contributed to that review (138) a translation of the "Elegy composed in 1816,... at Paestum". Campbell, for his "Gertrude of Wyoming", received, also in 1819, a very favourable notice from B. S. (probably the noted translator, Bruguière de Sorsum), who, having analysed the poem and illustrated his summary with short translated passages, remarked on several faults: "Mais ces taches sont légères et en petit nombre", he continued, "tandis que des beautés de l'ordre le plus élevé et du genre le plus durable, recommanderont toujours ce poème aux lecteurs, qui aiment à mêler aux rêveries d'un loisir solitaire de douces et vertueuses émotions" (139). Southey attracted notice in France as an historian (140) before he became

(131) Mme Lenormant: "Coppet et Weimar" (1862), letter of 30th Sept. 1804.

(132) Ch. P. de Kock: "Mémoires", 1873, p. 90.

(133) The "Journal" of the Goncourts, (9 voll., 1887-1896), vol. I, entry of 26th March 1855.

(134) "Le Constitutionnel", 28th Aug. 1819.

(135) In 1801, one of his books was translated as "La Soirée d'été", see the "Magasin encyclopédique", 180, V, 143.

(136) "Sous Dix Rois", II, letter of 22nd Dec. 1812.

(137) F. G. in "Le Constitutionnel", 2nd Sept. 1843.

(138) I, 136-137 and II, 39; the translation comes at I, 317 ff.

(139) *Ibidem*, II, 357.

(140) "Magasin encyclopédique", 1810, III, 118, short notice on the "History of Portugal"; 1813, III, 145, brief reference to the "History of Brazil". (Southey had been mentioned in L. Simond's "Voyage", pub. in France in 1816.)

at all generally known as a poet. Coleridge was in 1818 granted a short critique for his "Zapolya": the anonymous writer, after an analysis of the drama, stated that "L'auteur montre beaucoup de talent pour la poésie, mais il pêche souvent contre le mètre" and found "des traits d'une imagination brillante" (141). Thomas Moore was, during this period, much better known than Coleridge: in 1817, the "Annales encyclopédiques" (142) went to the trouble of announcing the third edition of "Lalla Rookh", which also earned a notice from the "Journal des Savants"; the "Revue encyclopédique" (143) of 1819 asserted that Moore was "chéri du public presque autant que lord Byron". Before dealing with "the noble peer", we may mention that the lastmentioned periodical (144) gave a favourable review to Milman's "Samor, Lord of the Bright City", which "mérite d'être rangé parmi les bons ouvrages de poésie anglaise qui ont paru de nos jours". Byron became known in France about 1812, popular about 1816. At the former date, A. de Pontmartin's father had a prefect of police say to him: "Comme j'aurais voulu qu'un grand écrivain ou un grand poète, Joseph de Maistre ou Chateaubriand, lord Byron ou Walter Scott, assistât à cette scène imprévue" (145). In 1813, the French press reviewed one of his works for what appears to be the first time. An anonymous critic in the December 1813 number of the "Mercure étranger" (146) stated that "Le Pèlerinage du jeune Harold", poème par lord Byron, a obtenu les honneurs d'une seconde édition. Il les doit à l'imagination de l'auteur, à la vigueur de ses tableaux, et peut-être ainsi aussi au ton de misanthropie qui domine dans l'ouvrage. Lord Byron paraît être un de ces poètes qui pourraient acquérir une réputation durable, si le goût réglait davantage les élans de leur muse". Two months later, the "Mercure" had another short notice on "ce poème, plein de mérite" (147). Again, in 1816, did this review interest itself in Byron; "Lara"

(141) "Annales encyclopédiques", 1818, III, 97-99.

(142) VI, 380.

(143) Sept. 1819, p. 568.

(144) October 1819, p. 219.

(145) A. de Pontmartin: "Mes Mémoires, Enfance et Jeunesse", 1885, p. 22.

This passage refers to a period that antedates by a year that reference in the "Mercure étranger", of 1813, on which Esève laid much stress in "Byron et le Romantisme français" (1907). In 1812, too, Stendhal was "mad on" the "Lara"; see his "Correspondance" at 24th Aug. 1829.

(146) II, 378; the review is probably written by either Vanderbourg or R. J. Durdent.

(147) *Ibidem*, III, 135.

was analysed and briefly criticised by Durdent (148). It was in this year that Stendhal, in a letter to Louis Crozet, used the words, "C'est le plus grand poète vivant, lord Byron" (149), — and Delécluze pronounced thus : "Les premiers ouvrages de lord Byron, "Lara" entre autres, commencèrent à être lus en France par ceux qui entendaient l'anglais, car ils n'étaient pas encore traduits (1816) ; or ces ouvrages... produisirent dès leur apparition une ivresse qu'on ne peut comparer qu'à celle que fait naître l'opium". That matterful memoirist said of the years 1817-1818 that "la littérature était elle-même menacée d'une révolution radicale par l'admiration poussée jusqu'à l'engouement que la jeunesse témoignait pour le caractère et les poésies de lord Byron". In 1819, several periodicals (150) maintained that he was, several that he was not, the author of "The Vampire" ; the "Lycée français" (151) offered its readers Bruguère de Sorsum's verse translation of "Darkness" and gave therewith the "Edinburgh Review's" short criticism of the original ; Eugène Delacroix, romantic painter, wrote to a friend : "Un de mes regrets est de n'avoir pu lire la belle élégie de lord Byron [sur Tasse] ; je dis belle, parce qu'il a l'âme trop brûlante et que le sujet lui convient trop bien pour qu'il ne l'eût pas saisi dans le bon sens" (152) ; and an anonymous reviewer in "Le Constitutionnel" exclaimed : "Les romantiques triomphent ; ils ont importé d'Angleterre les romans poétiques de lord Byron. Cette conquête leur fait pousser des cris de joie. "Le genre romantique gagne tous les jours du terrain", disent-ils dans la préface du poète anglais..... La renommée de lord Byron est grande en Angleterre, et nous ne doutons pas que ses productions ne soient recherchées en France. Elles sont infiniment supérieures à tout le fatras germanique dont on s'efforce depuis quelques années d'appauvrir notre littérature... Ne ne doutons point qu'il n'obtienne beaucoup de succès à une époque où les âmes agitées par tant de catastrophes successives ont contracté le besoin d'émotions vives et profondes ; les femmes surtout feront en France la fortune littéraire de lord Byron" (153). And in conclusion let us remember that Arsène

(148) IV, 120 ff.

(149) "Correspondance de Stendhal", letter of 20th Oct. 1816.

(150) E. g. E., the writer of the "Esquisses morales, politiques et littéraires", in the "Constitutionnel" of 14th June 1819.

(151) I, 385 ff.

(152) Eugène Delacroix: "Lettres" (2 vol., 1878), I, at date 22nd Sept. 1819.

(153) "Mélanges" section of number for 14th Sept. 1819.

Houssaye (154) called Byron "Un de nos maîtres du romantisme". His rival, Scott (155), meant to the French during this early period, little as a poet but much as a novelist. In 1815 the comtesse d'Albany (156) plied her English friend, Miss Knight, with questions about him. In 1817 Mme de Rémusat, in a letter to her son Charles, spoke of "Old Mortality" (known in the translation as "Les Puritains de l'Ecosse") as "un roman que j'ai lu avec intérêt, quoiqu'il m'ait fait un peu grincer des dents... Les peintures sont vives, variées, même crues" (157), to which Charles replied by return of post : "Vous faites bien d'admirer "les Puritains" ; cela est de mode ici. On se plaint cependant que le traducteur ait dénaturé le ton et surtout l'opinion de l'ouvrage... On dit que c'est un véritable ouvrage d'histoire, composé sur des documents authentiques". The following year, Madame de Rémusat recommended (158) him to read "Rob Roy" and more especially "Waverley" : "Ce dernier m'a intéressée au dernier point, malgré mes douleurs. C'est un tableau si étrange, si hors des habitudes connues, des descriptions si animées, un plan si bizarre, des caractères si naturels...". Delécluze said of the Stapfer salon in 1817-1818, — and many prominent and promising writers then belonged to it, — that "les ouvrages de lord Byron et de Walter Scott préoccupaient vivement tous ceux qui pouvaient les lire". In 1818 the "Annales encyclopédiques" made some general remarks (159) on "Old Mortality" and "The Black Dwarf", which "ont été fort répandus dans la société", and honoured the "poetical novel", "Harold the Dauntless", with a short review, in which the poem was praised for the "imagination vive et hardie" therein displayed as well as for several passages "très bien faits", but blamed for its episodic plan. In 1819 the "Lycée français" (160) besides analysing and quoting freely from one of his recent novels, treated Scott in a broad fashion and as a writer of a strong and versatile talent : the "Revue encyclopédique" (161) contained not

(154) "Mes Confessions", VI.

(155) For a reference to him as poet, cf. A. de Pontmartin's passage on Byron in France in 1812, on page 43.

(156) As we gather from Miss Knight's letters (e. g. that of 23rd June 1815) in the "Portefeuille de la comtesse d'Albany", ed. by L. G. Pélissier, 1902.

(157) "Correspondance de M. de Rémusat", 21st Nov. and 24th Nov. 1827.

(158) "Correspondance de M. de Rémusat", letter of 2nd Sept. 1818.

(159) 1818, II, 113; the review comes on p. 345.

(160) I, 404-416.

(161) August 1819, p. 309 and p. 356.

only an article in which S. A. Buchon spoke of his historical manner, but also a notice on his "Poetical Works", noteworthy for the statement that "M. Scott brille surtout par l'heureuse application du style de l'ancienne ballade à la poésie plus élevée et plus analogue au goût moderne" : and the "Conservateur littéraire" (162) offered a sanely eulogistic essay on the great novelist, the critic (M.) saying that "Walter Scott, doué d'une imagination vive, a beaucoup appris et beaucoup observé.... Dans ces romans, tout ce qui n'est pas vrai est vraisemblable... Les caractères sont bien tracés et bien soutenus". The same critic summed up Scott's position in France at the end of 1819 in the words : " Sir Walter Scott n'était connu en France, il y a quelques années, que d'un petit nombre de gens instruits : il n'avait fait que des poèmes. Sir Walter Scott partage aujourd'hui, dans un certain monde, la célébrité des Paccard et des Ducray-Duminil : il a fait des romans. Nous hâtons d'ajouter, pour réparer le tort que pourraient lui faire de pareils admirateurs et de pareils collègues, que ses romans n'ont fait qu'accroître, parmi les gens de goût, sa réputation, qui est aujourd'hui de la gloire". Moreover, Scott, like Byron, was to influence very powerfully the main body of French Romantics for many years.

But there is, of course, another way of looking at the question of English influence during the years of approach : to see if individual French men of letters showed this influence not in translations but in their original work. One will probably arrive at the conclusions that the English reaction on the general mass of French writers in this period was very noteworthy but by no means tremendous, and that it represented a great potential power that became very active only with the influx of Byron's and Scott's works about 1816. Nevertheless, certain writers were much influenced by the foreign literature under consideration.

Even Madame de Genlis. She is said to have tried unsuccessfully to imitate the domestic novels of Miss Opie (163). Pigault-Lebrun, as we have seen, admired "Clarissa Harlowe" and, as we suspect, derived a good deal from Anne Radcliffe and "Monk" Lewis. Xavier de Maistre throughout his novels, from

(162) I, 51. The next quotation figures on page 49.

(163) "Revue encyclopédique", Aug. 1831, article by Anselme Petetin.

the "Voyage autour de ma chambre" (164), 1794, to the "Expédition nocturne autour de ma chambre", 1825, evidently owed much to Sterne, whom, according to Stendhal (165), he imitated continually; "ses œuvres annoncent... une âme douce et qui a réellement quelques rapports avec celle de Sterne". De Maistre assimilated the emotional content and modified the form of "The Sentimental Journey": "...cette forme fantastique, empruntée à l'imitation de Sterne, qui le sert presque toujours fort heureusement, mais qui le gêne aussi quelquefois" (166).

Novelists too, and much besides, Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand, the predominant figures in French literature from 1800 to 1819 and the greatest immediate precursors of French Romanticism, of which indeed they were tentative yet powerful exponents in their fictional works, — they in their turn felt and sometimes responded to the appeal made by English thought, sentiment, and literary method. Madame de Staël esteemed and admired England and the English. In 1813 (167) she wrote from London to William Schlegel: "J'admire ce pays; à quelques égards, je m'y plais.... Ce qui est admirable, c'est la sécurité, la liberté et les lumières. Lire est ici une chose nouvelle (168), tant il y a de vie dans les écrits; celle qui n'est pas dans la société se trouve dans les voyages, les histoires, etc.". She tells us that during her exile, she was at Geneva, "vivant par goût et par circonstance dans la société des Anglais" (169), and Victor de Broglie says that at Pisa in 1816, "Ces Anglais, de toute condition et de caractères divers, formaient en partie, et en très grande partie, la société de Madame Staël" (170). It is of course well known that she lionised Byron (171), and received other distinguished English writers into her home. Her letters and memoirs indicate that she occasionally used English words and

(164) See esp. "Le Constitutionnel", 22nd Jan. 1848, article by A. de Barenton; cf. Stendhal's letter of 1st Nov. 1825.

(165) "Correspondance", letter of 1st Nov. 1825 to Stritch.

(166) "Le Globe", 24th Sept. 1825.

(167) "Lettres inédites de Mme de Staël à Henri Meister", 1903, letter of 26th Sept. 1813.

(168) Cf. B. Constant on English parliamentary debates.

(169) "Dix Années d'exil" (1821), ed. of 1861, p. 250. A general found "De l'Allemagne" anti-French and the authoress an excessive admirer of the English and the Germans: see her letter of the 21st Oct. 1810, in the "Revue bleue", 1880, 1st semester, p. 914.

(170) Victor de Broglie: "Souvenirs", 4 voll., 1885-1888, at date 1816.

(171) Baronne D. de Nolde: "Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant", translated by C. Harwood, London, 1907, Albertine de Broglie's letter of 3rd July 1816. For the opinion of Byron on her, see his letters.

phrases. Her interest took an active form : "C'était elle qui, à la tête des idées libres du Nord, non seulement anglaises mais teutoniques, aidée de Benjamin Constant..., entourée des Bonstetten, des Sismondi et des Dumont, portait l'oriflamme du droit personnel, de l'individu libre, de l'enquête active et de la force morale" (172). Her knowledge of English literature may not have been very extensive, but she wasn't afraid to express her opinion ; "Oswald a bien raison", once wrote Mme de Duras, "... lorsqu'il parle des poètes anglais, — de leur supériorité dans la peinture de l'amour" (173). At least two writers were familiar to her. "Shakespeare lui était cher et connu", said Chasles in his "Mémoires", and she herself remarked that "Un homme de beaucoup d'esprit disait que la Russie ressemblait aux pièces de Shakespeare, où tout ce qui n'est pas faute est sublime, où tout ce qui n'est pas sublime est faute. Rien de plus juste que cette observation..." (174). The other was Richardson, who meant far more to her : "De tous les auteurs de sa bibliothèque, deux l'avaient suivi dans sa solitude, les plus aimés : Richardson et Jean-Jacques. Il faut l'entendre raconter, à quinze ans de distance, ce qu'elle éprouva d'enivrement à lecture de "Clarisse Harlowe", faite au pied d'un arbre..... L'enlèvement de Clarisse par son séducteur, c'est elle qui nous l'apprend, fut un des plus grands événements de sa jeunesse" (Chasles). Burke won her admiration (175) ; Sterne possibly influenced one of her novels, for we find "Le Publiciste" of the 5th July 1807 comparing "Corinne" with "The Sentimental Journey" and describing the former as "un "Voyage sentimental", dans le genre noble".

Chateaubriand felt much the same towards England and her literature as did Madame de Staël, but he knew both much better. Naturally enough, for, like Philarète Chasles, he lived some time in the land. On leaving England, after his first sojourn there, he was "Anglais de manières, de goût et, jusqu'à un certain point, de pensées..... ; huit années de résidence dans la Grande-Bretagne, précédées d'un voyage en Amérique.... une longue habitude de parler, d'écrire et même de penser en anglais, avaient nécessairement influé sur le tour et l'expression de [ses]

(172) Ph. Chasles: "Mémoires", II.

(173) G. Pailhès: "La Duchesse de Duras", letter of 20th June, 1807; ref. to "Corinne".

(174) "Dix Années d'exil", p. 401.

(175) "Lettres inédites de Mme de Staël à H. Meister", letter of 13th Feb. 1791. The fact concerning "Le Publiciste" has also been taken from this book.

idées" (176). So that in 1823 he was justified in saying : "Je crois juger sainement l'Angleterre : je ne partage pas les préjugés de mes compatriotes contre ce pays, j'aime au contraire l'Angleterre et ses institutions" (177). Indeed, he took a great interest in English history and politics, as a general reading of his recollections and correspondence will show. In the "Mémoires d'outre-tombe" he often referred to English, German and Italian literature, but more frequently to the first than to the other two combined, and he must have been early recognised as an authority, to judge by an extract from his letter to the staff of the "Mercure de France" in 1802 : "Vous m'avez demandé quelques observations sur la littérature anglaise. Je commencerai par les "Nuits d'Young", dont on vient de donner une nouvelle édition" (178). He began reading Shakespeare after becoming acquainted with Milton ; in tome III of the "Mémoires", however, he mentioned the dramatist on a number of occasions. But Milton was his favourite English author, and the poet furnished him with many felicitous figures and illustrations. In his old age, Chateaubriand published his translation of "Paradise Lost" and introduced it with an Essay on English Literature. His friend Ballanche wrote to Madame d'Hautefeuille in July 1835 : "M. de Chateaubriand nous a lu de magnifiques choses. Un Chant de sa traduction de Milton, qui avance, et qui sera, vous pouvez en être certaine, une véritable conquête pour la langue française" (179). Of the complete version, a contemporary critic (180) observed that "Son système de traduction est celui d'une scrupuleuse et complète littéralité... Il a voulu reproduire le chef-d'œuvre de Milton dans son originalité native, coller sa traduction sur le texte, comme une draperie humide sur une statue. De là de grands effets, des beautés admirables, des choses qui ravissent, charment ou éblouissent. Mais lorsqu'il y a conflit entre les deux idiomes, lorsqu'ils se heurtent ou se révoltent l'un contre l'autre, alors on arrive à d'incroyables étrangetés..... M. de Chateaubriand a quelquefois immolé la langue

(176) One need hardly mention that this passage comes from the "Mémoires d'outre-tombe".

(177) "Correspondance générale de Chateaubriand" (ed. by L. Thomas, 4 voll., 1912-1913), IV, 23rd Aug., 1823.

(178) "Correspondance générale de Chateaubriand", I, 5th April 1802.

(179) A. Marquiset: "Ballanche et Mme d'Hautefeuille. Lettres inédites", 1902, letter of 27th July, 1835.

(180) In the "Annuaire historique universel" of 1836, in the "Note pour servir à l'histoire des arts et des lettres en 1836".

française sur l'autel de Milton". The translator himself afforded an interesting commentary when he wrote to Hippolyte Lucas : "Une traduction mot à mot comme la mienne est un ouvrage stéréotypé... Quant aux "Essais", ce ne sont que des stromates... J'ai suivi la littérature anglaise dans ses grandes divisions... Il suffit qu'on ait pu me lire sans ennui" (181). Several other English writers interested him : he translated Gray's "Elegy" and liked the Eton Ode (182) ; he probably owed much to Ossian, and Lamartine was not far wrong when he declared that "M. de Chateaubriand... était l'Ossian français ; il en avait dans l'imagination le vague, les couleurs, l'immensité ; les cris, les plaintes, l'infini" (183) ; He always bore a grudge (184) against Byron, whom he considered to have plagiarised from "Le Génie du Christianisme" and "René" ; and with Scott he was conversant, so conversant that a critic (185) postulated the great novelist in the finest pages of the "Etudes historiques sur la chute de l'empire romain" (1831). It would seem then, from even so brief an account as this, that Chateaubriand had to thank English literature for a great deal.

Senancour, to the contrary, borrowed extremely little. Yet he was interested in English literature, to which he alluded on several occasions in the pages of the "Mercure du XIX^e siècle" (186). Benjamin Constant likewise had a pretty useful knowledge of, but in "Adolphe" (187) owed little if anything to, this literature. The cast of his thought must have been influenced by his contact with English life : at the age of thirteen, he spent two months at Oxford, then he had an English tutor for eighteen months, and in 1783 he went to Edinburgh, where he passed "the most agreeable year of his life" and where "he distinguished himself as writer and as a speaker, although in a language other than his own" ; he could, therefore, say that when he travelled in England in 1787 he knew the language well enough to be always taken for a native — or rather a Scotch-

(181) "Revue de Bretagne", July 1893. The letter is dated 29th Aug. 1836.

(182) "Mémoires d'outre-tombe", III.

(183) "Nouvelles Confidences" (1851), Bk III, sec. 5.

(184) Extended over a whole chapter in the "Mémoires d'outre-tombe", III.

(185) D's notice on the Johannots' vignettes illustrative of Scott, in "L'Artiste" of Jan. 1833.

(186) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1823, I, 570 and III, 165.

(187) But I suspect that as a parliamentary speaker he imitated some of the great English orators of the 18th century.

man (188). And his knowledge of the literature may be indicated by the fact that in such letters as figure in Professor Rudler's "Jeunesse de Benjamin Constant" (a wonderful example of the psychological reconstruction of a personality), we meet with seven or eight references, either neat quotations or details of literary history. Of his "Réflexions sur la tragédie", published in 1809 along with "Wallstein", Alfred Michiels (189) stated that "On y remarque... une admiration assez grande des théâtres anglais et allemands", and he might have added "surtout de Shakespeare" (190). What is more, his "Journal" (191) proves that he held Gibbon ("l'auteur le plus impartial qui ait existé") in high esteem and was familiar with Pope.

Less intense, more versatile, Nodier, becoming acquainted with English literature at an early date, published his "Pensées de Shakespeare" (1801) when he was little more than eighteen. Into "Smarra" (1821), according to J. Janin (192), he put something of Shakespeare and Milton. As a young poet he had been impressed by two English Romantics: his volumes of verse, "Essais d'un jeune barde" (1804) and "Les Tristes" (1806), "relevaient... de l'influence anglaise, et montraient un lecteur familier d'Ossian et d'Young" (193). Nor must we forget that for some time he acted as secretary to Croft, an eccentric Englishman. In all his work, in his temperament, he displayed — as is well known — qualities akin with those of Sterne: A. Jal (194) says that in him "la fantaisie de Sterne s'unissait à la malice et au laisser-aller de la Fontaine", Audebrand (195) relates that Philarète Chasles (in a conversation with Henri Heine) described Nodier as a man "qui réunit Tacite et Sterne", and C-s, a very able critic belonging to the staff of "Le Globe", almost as good as states that he got the idea of his "Histoire du roi de Bohême et de ses sept châteaux" (1836) from "Tristram Shandy" (it would be vol. IV) and does actually represent him as "un homme qui

(188) All these details are taken from "Le Cahier Rouge de Benjamin Constant", 1907. Moreover Constant knew L. Simond, well-acquainted with England.

(189) "La France littéraire", May 1842, article on the "Idées littéraires de France".

(190) Cf. "Revue de Paris", Oct. 1829, Constant's essay on Tragedy.

(191) "Journal intime de Benjamin Constant et lettres à sa famille et à ses amis", ed. by D. Melegari, 1895; both refs. date 1804, the former being of the 9th ventose.

(192) "Journal des Débats", 5th Feb. 1844.

(193) A. Aubert in the "Revue indépendante", Feb. 1844, article on Nodier.

(194) "Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres", 1877, p. 547.

(195) "Petits mémoires du XIX^e siècle", 1892, p. 30.

par plus d'un lien nous semble appartenir à la famille sentimentale et frondeuse de Sterne" (196). He admired Goldsmith and translated "The Vicar of Wakefield" (1838); "ce travail, plus complet et plus intelligent, sans comparaison aucune, que tous les travaux des précédents traducteurs, se distingue par une littéralité scrupuleuse, unie à cette élégance de style que personne ne conteste à l'auteur de "Jean Sbogar"..." (197). The translation was excellent because the two writers concerned were atune; referring to Nodier, Balzac wrote to Mme Hanska: "Lisez sa "Vie de Goldsmith", en tête du "Vicaire de Wakefield", et vous aurez lu dans l'âme de Nodier" (198). Of course, he was impressionable, though Janin (199) exaggerated when he pictured him as swayed powerfully by Byron in "Jean Sbogar" (1818) only to turn just as definitely to Scott in "Trilby" (1822). In the former, however, the general consensus of opinion has found a large Byronic element. Here is the matter viewed from three aspects: in a letter to Guiraud, Soumet alluded to "Lara" in the words, "Je crois que "Jean Sbogar" a été écrit sous l'inspiration de cette poésie" (200); Nodier himself referred to "Jean Sbogar, dont les journaux de Paris ont si bien prouvé que j'avais volé le type à lord Byron, par anticipation sans doute" (201); a year later, a critic in the "Revue de Paris" permitted himself a courteously firm refutation, "J'en demande pardon à M. Ch. Nodier, il y a une analogie qu'il voudrait nier en vain entre "le Corsaire" ou "Lara"... et "Jean Sbogar" (202). The prevalent opinion would seem to be correct, for both "Lara" and "The Corsair" had appeared long enough before the writing of this novel to allow Nodier, possessed of a competent knowledge of the English language and literature, to forget where he had derived a powerful impression of two rather fascinating and very picturesque heroes (and Nodier loved the picturesque). And "Trilby", as well as being influenced by Scott's novels, was partly determined by Shakespeare's "Tempest" (203). In short, Nodier drew considerably on English works.

(196) "Le Globe", 4th March, 1830.

(197) "Revue des Deux Mondes", 1838, II, 532.

(198) "Lettres à l'étrangère" (2 vol., 1899-1906), at date 29th Jan., 1844.

(199) "Revue de Paris", Jan. 1832, "Album" section.

(200) "Lettres au Bon. Guiraud", ed. by C. Douais, 1899, letter of 1840.

(201) "Souvenirs de la Révolution et de l'Empire" (2 vol., 1831), II, the article on Fouché.

(202) "Revue de Paris", April 1832, article by A.

(203) Such is the measured judgement of Victor Pavie, in vol. II of his

"Œuvres choisies", 1887.

The French dramatists also bore the imprint of, and helped to disseminate, English influence. Like Letourneur, and in much the same way, Ducis was an eighteenth-century writer that powerfully reacted on the literature of 1800-1819. This timid precursor of Romanticism revealed his sensitiveness when, in 1805, he wrote to the painter Gérard : "Je n'ai plus qu'à me mettre aux pieds d'Ossian pour entendre les accents de sa lyre antique et jouir du concert qu'il donne, aux nombres des héros et des héroïnes, dans le paradis des nuages et des souvenirs" (204). But he concerns us principally by his free translations of Shakespeare's tragedies, made during the years 1767-1792. Apparently he used Letourneur's version, for he admitted (205) to Garrick that he didn't know English. The "locus classicus" for his general attitude towards Shakespeare is the passage in which he says to the celebrated actor concerning "Hamlet" : " Je n'ai qu'un secours, c'est l'attrait inexplicable qui soumet mon âme à ce poète extraordinaire... On trouve en général que mon ouvrage est simple et sans incidents ; mais mon succès fût-il un triomphe, ce que je suis bien loin d'espérer, recevez d'avance ma protestation, Monsieur, que je pose ma couronne sur la base et aux pieds de la statue de Shakespeare" (206). How absorbed he was in his work, and how difficult he found it, one may see from his letter (207) on the representation of "Macbeth" (1784). "Ducis... s'était pénétré et profondément pénétré de tout ce qu'il y a de beau dans Shakespeare", writes Touchard-Lafosse (208), who then dwells on his many departures from the text. By 1810 he had won a well-deserved fame by virtue of his adaptations : "Pour la tragédie, la deuxième classe de l'Institut ajoute aux tragédies déjà signalées par le jury la tragédie d'"Hamlet", de Ducis" (209), says Dr Véron referring to that date. His significance came later to be much debated. "S'il a défiguré les pièces de Shakespeare", writes Jouslin de la Salle, "il a du moins aidé à faire connaître en France le prodigieux génie du dramaturge an-

(204) "Correspondance de Gérard", 1867, letter of 1st July 1805, to be read in full.

(205) "Lettres de Jean-François Ducis", ed. by P. Albert, enlarged ed. of 1879, letter of 14th April, 1769.

(206) *Ibidem*, *ibidem*. Cf. Ducis's letter to Lemercier, 9th Jan. 1807 in M. Souriau's "Népomucène Lemercier", 1908, p. 167).

(207) *Ibidem*, 13th Jan. 1784, to Deleyre.

(208) "Souvenirs d'un demi-siècle" (6 voll., 1836), III.

(209) "Mémoires d'un bourgeois", I.

glais (210)". In 1847, Ducis found a vigorous defender in R. (probably H. Rolle) of "*Le Constitutionnel*" : "Ducis a fait ce qui lui demandaient ses contemporains, et même plus qu'ils ne lui demandaient..... Ducis a réellement découvert Shakespeare bien avant les Christophe Colomb d'aujourd'hui ; c'est lui qui leur a tracé la route (211)". Nor must we forget that his "translations" remained popular for years : in 1809 he (212) himself mentioned their tremendous vogue, in 1810 he ascribed the striking success of "*Hamlet*" (revived) to the genius of Talma, for whom the piece was rewritten ; and as late as 1846, J. N. Barba (213) could say that "presque toutes ses pièces sont restées au répertoire". Ducis as a pioneer deserves all the more praise for the fact that his Shakespearean plays preceded any notable work by Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand or Nodier.

Andrieux, a younger contemporary of Ducis, translated an English play (214) for the "*Chefs-d'œuvre du théâtre étranger*". For two other plays he borrowed something : "*Le Jeune Créole*", drame imité de Cumberland ; "*Léonore*", tragédie imitée de la "*Jane Shore*" de Rowe, sont des études qu'on lit avec intérêt, mais qui n'ont pas été faites pour être jouées" (215). In the latter piece he deviated considerably from the original (216).

Népomucène Lemer cier, much more important than Andrieux, was open to impressions from foreign sources. "Partisan par système de l'originalité plutôt qu'original", writes Ch. Magnin, "passionné pour l'invention plutôt qu'inventeur, M. Lemer cier fit tour à tour des emprunts à Eschyle, à Pétrone, à la Bible, à Alfieri, à Milton, à Shakespeare, à Manzoni" (217). He owed most to Shakespeare (218) : Legouvé, speaking of Lemer cier as youth and young man, says that "Seul de son temps il étudie à fond Shakespeare, non comme Ducis, pour en extraire l'élément pathétique et romanesque, mais pour y chercher la peinture pro-

(210) "*Souvenirs sur le Théâtre-Français*, par Jouslin de la Salle (1833-1837)", ed. by E. Monval and Fleury, 1900, p. 120.

(211) "*Le Constitutionnel*", 27th Dec. 1847. Cf. the general tenor of remarks in Mme de Bawr's "*Souvenirs*", 1853.

(212) "*Lettres de Ducis*", 6th Feb. 1809 and 27th Nov. 1810.

(213) "*Souvenirs de J. N. Barba*".

(214) This play was published in 1823: see "*Le Miroir*", 17th Feb. 1823.

(215) "*Revue de Paris*", June 1833, St. A. Berville's article on Andrieux.

(216) "*Revue encyclopédique*", Nov. 1823, p. 327.

(217) "*Revue des Deux Mondes*", 1841, II, 451.

(218) "*Englische Studien*" of 1899 has an art. by A. L. Stiefel on the subject.

fonde des personnages historiques" (219); "Je n'écris jamais rien", Lemercier used to say in his old age, "sans me demander ce qu'en penseraient Corneille, Sophocle, Shakespeare". In his "Agamemnon" (1797), "l'apparition du jeune Oreste, au dénouement, ressemble à une création de Shakespeare", and for his "Christophe Colomb" (1809), as we have seen, he was taken to task for calling and trying to write it as a "Comédie shakespearienne". Dryly whimsical, he was said by F. D. (220), a critic in "Le Constitutionnel", to have something of Sterne in his make-up. Richardon also helped. In 1792 appeared "Lovelace", which was, on its revival in 1795, named "Clarisse Harlowe" as well; in fact critics (221) use either title. "Le goût des institutions anglaises, qui dominait à cette époque, lui inspirait le drame de 'Clarisse Harlowe'" (222), but "Le roman de Clarisse", si beau dans ses détails, devait perdre sur la scène tous ses avantages; aussi le "Lovelace" de M. Lemercier, quoique fort bien écrit et dialogué, n'a pas eu de succès" (223). But "Jane Shore" was that of his plays which raised the most contemporary discussion; things were moving in 1824. Badly received the first night, it immediately after gained a brilliant (224) and lasting success. This tragedy mingled Shakespeare and Rowe (225): against the background of the latter's "Jane Shore", Lemercier worked the former's Richard III as "hero". "La figure principale... est celle de Richard III. Il a pris, pour le peindre, ses couleurs sur la palette de Shakespeare et de Rowe" (226). "Jane Shore" was severely criticised, partly for its Romantic tendency, partly for the fusion of two themes: "... espèce de pastiche tragique composé de fragments du Richard III de Shakespeare et de quelques situations de 'Jane Shore' de Rowe", wrote that able dramatist and critic, Théodore Anne (227); "... de cette combinaison ré-

(219) Ernest Legouvé: "Soixante ans de souvenirs" (3 voll., 1886-1887), I, 91; next quotation, I, 97; the following, I, 100.

(220) "Le Constitutionnel", 29th May 1834.

(221) Thieme gives them as two separate plays.

(222) "Journal des Comédiens: Gazette des Théâtres", 11th June 1840, "Nécrologie".

(223) "Mémoires et récits de François Chéron", ed. by F. Hervé-Bazin, 1882.

(224) "La Pandore", 5th April 1824.

(225) Cf. "Le Constitutionnel", 4th April, 1821.

(226) "La Quotidienne", 3rd April 1824, review by M. J. (perhaps M. Jullien).

(227) "L'Union", 5th June 1848.

sulte une œuvre monstrueuse où toutes les unités sont violées" (228).

A. Duval likewise borrowed occasionally. His "Montoni" (1798) was inspired by Anne Radcliffe; "ce sont "les Mystères d'Udolphe" dans toute leur horreur. Tour du Nord, portes secrètes, voleurs de grands chemins, rien n'y manque" (229). Thirty years later came "Charles II, ou Le Labyrinthe de Woodstock", based on Scott's novel: "La nouvelle comédie de "Charles II", la meilleure sans contredit des tentatives de ce genre [c'est-à-dire des adaptations dramatiques de romans], trahit cependant une absence de chaleur et de vie qui n'est pas, comme on sait, le défaut habituel de son auteur" (230). "Duval, vers la fin de sa carrière, voulut essayer de faire du grand drame historique; le peu de succès de la "Princesse des Ursins" et du "Tasse" a suffi pour prouver, qu'il n'avait ni assez de portée dans le talent ni assez d'ampleur dans l'imagination, pour marcher sur les traces de Shakespeare et de Schiller" (231).

Etienne in "Les Deux Gendres" (1810) imitated "Lear": Le fond est absolument le même que celui de la tragédie anglaise.... Non seulement le cadre, mais quelques-unes des pensées semblent inspirées par l'auteur anglais" (232), and in "La Jeune Femme colère" (233) he made a "petit acte" of "The Taming of the Shrew".

The poets of the period owed less than the dramatists to English literature. Chénedollé in his "Etudes poétiques", published in 1820, drew on Byron for several themes (234); rather well acquainted with English literature, he revised Brugière de Sorsum's translation of certain of Shakespeare's dramas (235). Baour Lormian was connected with British works solely as an extremely free translator (236). Edmond Gérard, whose "Poésies" appeared

(228) "Annales de la littérature et des arts", 1824, XV, 75, article by "Le Vieil Amateur".

(229) J. Janin in the "Journal des Débats", 17th Jan. 1842.

(230) "Le Globe", 19th March 1828.

(231) J. T. in "La Quotidienne", 28th Jan. 1842.

(232) J. A. Buchon in the "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1823, III, 420; cf. Mme de Staël's letter to Mme Récamier in 1811, in Mme Lenormant: "Coppet et Weimar".

(233) P. Foucher: "Les Coulisses du passé", 1872, p. 129.

(234) "Annales de la littérature", 1827, XXVIII, 255.

(235) See L. de Samie's "Chénedollé" (1922), refs. in letters at pp. 97, 103, 127, 142, 256, 302, 349, 364.

(236) Cf. ante, p. 31.

in 1818, possessed an excellent knowledge (237) of English literature and was probably influenced thereby. Millevoye (238) had in 1812 contemplated a translation of "The Lady of the Lake", but apparently he left the matter at that: Scott's ballad-manner probably affected his "Elégies". And though Alex. Guiraud (239) wrote to Soumet that "La mélancolie de Millevoye... ne doit rien à l'Angleterre ni à l'Allemagne", yet internal evidence would indicate his indebtedness to Young and Ossian. Another journalist-poet, Charles Loyson (whose best work came out in 1817 and 1819), underwent the attraction of English literature: "Une élégante imitation des chants d'Ossian et de la charmante pièce de Grillparzer: 'L'Ange et l'enfant'", attestent ses études étrangères en même temps que la variété de ce talent multiple et toujours correct" (240).

Several historical and philosophical writers call for brief notice. Lemontey (241), contained something of Sterne, something of Swift and something of St-Evrémond. Sismondi had a lot of time for England and her literature. "Quant aux Nations", he declared in 1814, "je n'estime hautement que l'anglaise" (242). The "Fragments de son journal et correspondance" (1857) shows that he used to read the chief English reviews and carefully studied Gibbon. He was familiar with Shakespeare (243), with Scott (244), whose "Waverley" he read "avec un intérêt extrême", and with Byron (245), whom he viewed with a rather shocked admiration. In 1822 appeared his historical novel, "Julia Severa, ou l'an 492": referring to Sismondi as author of this work, A. of the "Revue encyclopédique", remarked that "sous des formes peut-être moins brillantes et moins dramatiques... il a le premier imprimé au genre dont Walter Scott est le créateur, une direc-

(237) See especially "Un Homme de lettres sous l'Empire et la Restauration".

(238) P. Ladoué: "La vie et l'œuvre de Millevoye", 1912, letter of 23rd Nov. 1812.

(239) *Ibidem*, letter of 1823.

(240) "Mémoires de l'Académie de Caen", 1866, Théry: "Souvenirs littéraires".

(241) According to P. F. Tissot in the "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1823, I, 10.

(242) "Lettres inédites de Sismondi, de Bonstetten... à Mme la comtesse d'Albany", ed. by S. R. Taillandier 1863, letter of 2nd Feb. 1814.

(243) *Ibidem*, letter of 26th March 1808.

(244) *Ibidem*, letters of 20th June and 1st Nov. 1816 are favourable to Scott. (Later, he confessed himself disappointed in Scott as an historical novelist: "Fragments de son journal", 25th Aug. 1825.)

(245) *Ibidem*, letters of 20th June, 11th July, and 19th Sept. 1816.

tion toute philosophique" (246). Nor must we omit the posthumously-famous Joubert, who read noteworthy in English literature. Concerning Delille and his translation of Milton, he wrote : "Il m'a fait aimer et admirer ce bizarre génie, qui m'avait toujours repoussé" (247); he liked Sterne (248); concerning Cook, he once said : "Les voyages ont fait dix ans les délices de ma pensée" (249). It has, moreover, been pretty well proved (250) that he was the author of "Anecdotes anglaises et américaines".

All classes of literary men, therefore, showed, during "the years of approach", an interest, gradually becoming greater, in the thoughts, the sentiments, and the form of English writers, and began to give a practical outlet thereto.

(246) "R. encyclopédique", sept. 1826, p. 777.

(247) "Pensées et correspondance de J. Joubert", ed. by P. de Raynal, 1842, letter of 9th Jan. 1805.

(248) *Ibidem*, letter of 26th Aug. 1797.

(249) *Ibidem*, letter of 26th Aug. 1797.

(249) *Ibidem*, letter of 22nd Sept. 1797.

(250) G. Pailhès: "Du Nouveau sur J. Joubert", 1900, Frisell's letter of 9th Oct. 1807.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON FRENCH ROMANTIC LITERATURE.

French Romanticism is usually and rightly held to cover the years 1820-1848, the period from the appearance of Lamartine's "*Méditations poétiques*" to "the third French Revolution".

Romanticism, indeed, was definitely in the air by 1820 and afforded the main subject of conversation to the large group of literary men that assembled at the house of Etienne Delécluze in the third decade ; this group (as we learn from the "*Souvenirs*" of the host) included Stendhal, his friend Mérimée, Ch. de Rémusat, Classics like P. L. Courier, Viollet-le-Duc and Patin, methodical yet imaginative scholars like J. J. Ampère and Victor Jacquemont, historians such as Mignet and Taschereau, "closet dramatists" like Vitet, Cavé and Dittmer, literary critics such as Artaud and Coquerel, and men of the world like the baron de Mareste and Duvergier de Hauranne. In 1822 a reviewer (1), declared that people would read little except Romantic literature. The following year, Stendhal (2) wrote to a business correspondent : "Probablement, vous ne vous doutez pas, en Angleterre, de la grande dispute du "romantique" contre le "classique" qui occupe les littérateurs de France". In 1828, an anonymous critic (3) voiced the opinion of the average writer when he said that, if the dispute were sensibly discussed and clarified, both parties, the one preaching Shakespeare, the other defending Racine, would be ashamed of themselves and would come to an amicable settlement over Scott's novels. In the late preface to "*Marion Delorme*" (4), Victor Hugo pronounced as follows : "Les misérables mots à querelle, "classique" et "romantique", sont tombés dans l'abîme de 1830... L'art seul

(1) "*Le Miroir*", 27th Jan. 1822.

(2) "Correspondance de Stendhal" letter to Stritch, 6th March 1823.

(3) "*Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle*", XXI, 369.

(4) Collection Nelson Française édition, p. 206.

est resté". (Their other designation, by the way, was "Raciniens et Shakespeariens") (5). And later, "O" of the "Constitutionnel" scorned the idea of a "party" struggle taking place: "Des "Romantiques" et des "classiques" en 1838! Mais c'est à faire douter de la Révolution de Juillet!... Ces deux mots dont le sens est perdu et qui ne disent plus rien!" All this simply meant that the Classical element had given way before the Romantic.

The new movement affected all French literature, but it was in drama that the reform was felt to be needed most. In 1826 an anonymous writer (6) indicated a sufficient, though by no means the whole reason, when he stated the case thus: "Ce n'est plus maintenant ni Goethe, ni Shakespeare, ni Calderon, ni le Globe, ni M. de Stendhal, ni tous nos aristarques romantiques qui vont faire la révolution [dans le théâtre]; c'est l'ennui". 1830 was a significant year: "La première d' "Hernani" en février, en juillet les journées révolutionnaires: de toutes façons l'année 1830 est une grande date dans l'histoire du romantisme" (7).

For this turning-point, we can hardly do better than go the vivid Arsène Houssaye: (8). "La révolution politique de 1830 fut une révolution stérile... Mais elle donna la secousse de la révolution littéraire qui fut féconde. Les romantiques escaladant l'Olympe jetèrent à pleines mains le feu du ciel qui crée les chefs-d'œuvre. Là fut la vraie révolution. Il ne resta aux vieilles écoles que les académies. Les romantiques s'emparèrent du livre et du théâtre. La poésie renia ses faux dieux: Racine après Viennet. Mais elle reconnut ce sacrilège. Beau spectacle, ce triomphe de la vie radieuse!... Nouvelles idées, nouvelle langue.... On proclama dans l'Art la Vérité, la Beauté, la Liberté. Plus d'école. Chacun créa sa grammaire pour créer son œuvre". An amusing comment on this attitude comes from "Le Corsaire" of 1831: "L'école romantique sollicite une récompense nationale en sa qualité de morte des trois journées" (9). That the revolution did not help French drama to find its feet straight away appears in Mme L. Swanton-Belloc's statement (10) that rapid movement

(5) See e. g. "Le Constitutionnel", 22nd Jan. 1837. The next quotation comes from the no. of 25th Jan. 1838.

(6) "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XV, 273, probably Saint-Marc Girardin.

(7) J. Marsan, "La Bataille romantique" (1912), p. 218.

(8) "Mes Confessions" (6 voll., 1885-1891), III, chapter entitled "l'Olympe romantique".

(9) "Le Corsaire", 24th March 1831.

(10) "Revue encyclopédique", Déc. 1830.

had left the theatre and entered books. But it may have made Frenchman willing to extend relationships with foreign countries, and a writer of the time asserted (11) that nothing so much contributed to the removal of national prejudice, as a mutual exchange of ideas and customs, through the medium of art and literature, between peoples that had much in common ; that the French had been too long exclusive ; and that foreign actors would always benefit French literary taste.

But Hugo and Lamartine were not exclusive, and they met with great success : "Les vers, quels qu'ils soient, à moins de porter le nom de Lamartine ou de Victor-Hugo, n'ont absolument aucun débit à Paris" (12). Hugo had also produced in "Notre-Dame de Paris" a very striking historical novel. This genre, which became popular in France early in the 'twenties, fell more or less into desuetude late in the 'thirties, and the reason for the general failure of the native novelists therein may well lie in the dictum (13) uttered so early as 1824 : "En général, il y a dans l'esprit français plus d'aptitude à saisir les ridicules de la Société présente ou les impressions du sentiment qu'à rendre les passions d'un caractère historique".

With the decline of the historical novel came a revolt in the drama. In 1840 a critic started an article (14) with the words, "dans ce moment de crise littéraire...". In 1843 "Lucrèce" was staged and, as the famous actor Laferrrière (15) tells us, it had a wonderful "first night" ; the next day, a new school was founded, so that facing the "Hugonistes" stood the "Ponsardistes" ; the play, in short, was the most startling theatrical event since "Hernani". But by about the beginning of 1847, when "Agnès de Méranie" appeared, the crowd grew tired of Ponsard's and Latour de Saint-Ybar's plays (16), with their "ronron' cadencé et sonore", and returned fondly to the pieces of Hugo and Dumas.

In February 1848, however, arrived the Revolution, which

(11) In the "Journal des Comédiens" of 14th April, 1833.

(12) "Correspondance d'Hégésippe Moreau", 1890 (in "Œuvres complètes"), letter of 1834.

(13) "Annuaire historique universel", 1824, in the "revue littéraire" section.

(14) "Echo de la littérature et des beaux arts", Feb. 1840, review of "Nicholas Nickleby".

(15) "Mémoires", 2 voll., 1876. I follow Laferrrière for the statements made about this piece.

(16) As we learn from J. Janin's feuilleton in the "Journal des Débats" for 15th March 1847.

hit the drama (17) harder than the rest of literature ; the theatres were in a very bad way until the autumn. All literary men received an unpleasant shock, and in the work they produced later they showed that something decisive had happened. Literature changed in many ways. Romanticism, to all practical intents and purposes, ceased in 1848.

During the years 1820-1848, English influence (18) operated much more widely and powerfully than in the first two decades of the century.

The interaction of political and literary theory, the significance of England to France, and the part played by English writers in the first development of Romanticism have been well set forth by E. J. Delécluze, who puts the matter somewhat as follows. The mechanism of representative government, still new in France in 1826, had naturally directed the attention of well-educated young men to the greatly improved institutions of England. Then the study of the English language, which had become somehow indispensable to budding publicists, had given a great importance to English literature, so that while the English constitution was now a fit model by which to regulate the ideas of the younger generation, Shakespeare—since the unmistakable arrival of the Romantic school—passed for the dramatist par excellence and even the principal poet that one should study. Ten or twelve years before, the prejudices on these two questions were very different. From 1792 till 1815, continual war had maintained in the French mind, with regard to foreign nations, an aversion all the stronger for being unreasonable ; the English bore the brunt of this hatred..... Gradually, when the consolidation of a constitutional government preoccupied the public attention and caused the cruel memories of the double invasion to fade somewhat, the literary productions of Scott and Byron, welcomed so enthusiastically in France, served as the first olive branch and the signal of peace repledged by the two countries. The appearance of these novels and poems coincides so closely with the Romantic outburst, that one may legitimately believe that the latter event would not have taken place without the provocation of the former. In short, the establishment of constitu-

(17) See especially "L'Union", February-July 1848.

(18) See passim M. B. Finch and E. Alison Peers' "Origins of French Romanticism", London, 1920, and J. Marsan's "L'Ecole romantique après 1830" in the "Revue d'histoire littéraire", 1916.

tional government and the notion of adopting the Romantic literature are, for France, two innovations introduced together from England, innovations that, whether one accepted or rejected them, were understood only by a small number of picked men. Delécluze (19) goes so far as to say that it was Byron and Scott who about 1820 made clear and precise a movement that had existed in a vague state several years previously.

It is interesting to note in passing that, as Byron and Scott belonged to good society, so, before and after their advent in France, writers and others of high rank especially interested themselves in English Romantics; we may mention Mme de Chastenay, Mme de Staël, Chateaubriand, Mme de Duras, Hugo, de Vigny and the de Barante-de Broglie group. Moreover, the poet and the novelist came early to be recognised as great writers: "Lord Byron et Walter Scott sont les deux astres du monde romantique; ils ont plus occupé cette année la presse et les salons que tous nos poètes ou romanciers ensemble. Il n'y a eu de succès que pour leurs imitateurs: leurs œuvres ont été publiées dans leur langue et dans la nôtre, et quoique la trempe de leur génie soient bien différente, ils ont eu partout, jusqu'au fond des provinces, les mêmes admirateurs" (20). Early in 1821, d'Arlincourt's best-known novel was reviewed (21) in pretty much this fashion: "'Le Solitaire'! The very title promises something mysterious, something 'romantic'. With haggard eyes and hair on end, the admirers of Byron and Scott say: 'Good! We're going to tremble, shudder, and weep at every page; what pleasure! We'll travel rapidly in unknown parts and pursue, catch and strike the criminal; what ecstasy!' Another critic stated (22) (rather crossly) that, Romantic literature being decidedly in favour, no success of the moment could compare with the popularity of Byron's scoundrels and Scott's brigands. And a fourth viewed the matter from the stand-point of philosophy: "En France, l'introduction des mœurs et des lois anglaises a rapproché notre littérature de ces formes vaporeuses et romantiques dessinées... par Walter Scott, ou chantées sur la lyre de lord Byron" (23).

(19) In his "Souvenirs de soixante ans".

(20) "Annuaire historique universel", for 1820, in section: "Sciences, lettres et arts (Notices)".

(21) By Amar in the "Moniteur universel" of 30th Jan. 1821.

(22) "Le Constitutionnel", 12th Feb. 1821. Next quotation therefrom dates 1st May 1822.

(23) "Annales de la littérature et des arts", 1821, II, 56.

Knowledge of English literature was increasing. It was remarked by a contemporary (24) that the "Almanach des muses" did much to familiarise readers with foreign productions, and the "Constitutionnel" said that the study of English, now generally cultivated and sometimes admitted as a necessary part of education, caused a number of English writers to be as well-known in France as in their own country. Interested knowledge made for influence, and in 1822 J. de Petigny, a competent critic, referred (25) to his compatriots thus: "Ils imitent et ils traduisent. Demandez quel est le poète qui règne sur notre Parnasse par la force de son mâle génie ? on vous répondra : c'est Byron. Quel est le romancier dont les productions touchantes savent intéresser, instruire et émouvoir ? on vous dira : c'est Walter Scott. Enfin, quelles sont les tragédies nouvelles qui occupent l'attention et divisent les suffrages du monde littéraire ? c'est le théâtre de Schiller et celui de Shakespeare". But the actors that came to Paris in 1822 met with a very poor reception. It was a daring enterprise, because politically, France and England were still rather inimical to each other: though they had nothing to do with state affairs, the performers were hooted and assailed with missiles of divers kinds as reminders of 1815 (26). After another vain attempt, they moved to a smaller theatre and played half a dozen times before a subscribing audience, which applauded them heartily (27).

That English, as a language and as a literature, became popular about this time appears from a statement made in "Le Constitutionnel" (28) to the effect that the "Paris Monthly Review", containing a selection of the articles from English periodicals and others on matters of public interest, deserved to fix the attention of all interested in this foreign literature. This long-established review continued its successful career for many years ; but we do not know what vicissitudes awaited "Robertson's Magazine", a "journal grammatical et littéraire de la langue anglaise" (29), founded about 1827. Of the young men of the day, P. F. Tissot (30), identifying himself with the older genera-

(24) "Le Journal du Commerce", 29th Dec. 1822.

(25) In the "Annales de la littérature", 1822, VI, 107.

(26) Théodore Muret: "A travers champs. Souvenirs et propos divers", 2 voll., 1858.

(27) J. Lan: "Mémoires d'un chef de clique", 1883.

(28) 1st July 1822.

(29) See "Le Globe" 12th May 1827.

(30) "Le Mercure du dix-neuvième siècle", in the "Prospectus", p. 7.

tion, said that "familiers avec les langues étrangères, ils font d'utiles comparaisons avec des littératures qui nous étaient absolument inconnues. Aucune leçon, aucun précepte ne saurait valoir ces comparaisons, que tant de personnes font à la fois, et dont il sortira pour la France une littérature nouvelle. Mais en attendant les merveilles qu'elles nous promettent, elles nous rendent déjà les services d'accroître la passion des lettres". The dandy (31) had on his book-shelves Shakespeare, Byron, Scott and Moore in their native tongue and made fun of those who subscribed to the translations issued by Ladvocat, the best-known of the Romantic publishers.

Byron and Scott were creating a tremendous stir. Coulmann (32) didn't exaggerate when he declared to the former in 1823: "Vous et Walter Scott faites fureur en France"; and Delécluze, always a keen and accurate observer, states that their extraordinary vogue had at this date already modified the taste of those young men of letters who met at the house of Viollet-le-Duc.

They were not, however, the only English writers to claim the attention of the French, whose interest was becoming general. The Duchess de Broglie wrote to her friend, Mme Anisson du Perron: "Tu me demandes si j'ai quelque occupation qui m'intéresse, je n'ai encore rien de bien fixe; peut-être me mettrai-je à traduire quelque ouvrage anglais", and she advised her to put into French some English book for children (33). From across the Channel new elements had got into the literary atmosphere: during (34) the years 1819-1824, under the direct and double influence of André Chénier and Lamartine, to the resounding fame of Byron's and Scott's masterpieces, to the noise of cries from Greece, in the midst of the monarchic and religious illusions rife under the Restoration, there was formed an ensemble of preludes in which predominated a vague, idealistic melancholy, the accent of chivalry, and a curious, often exquisite grace of detail. People had lately made a more serious study of foreign writers, and careful examination had proved favourable especially to the English (35). In fact, "les Anglais, à cette

(31) According to "La Pandore", 8th Aug. 1823.

(32) See his "Réminiscences", II, ch. XIII.

(33) "Lettres de la Duchesse de Broglie, 1814-1838", ed. by her son, 1896; letter from Coppet, 1824.

(34) From this word to the full stop is translated from Sainte-Beuve's article on De Musset in the Jan. 1833 number of the "Revue des Deux Mondes".

(35) "Revue encyclopédique", Jan. 1825, p. 201.

époque, avaient en France toute la popularité qu'on peut avoir en dehors du peuple. Certains salons les aimaient à cause de Waterloo..., et c'était une recommandation dans le monde ultra que d'anglaiser la langue française", as Victor Hugo (36) phrased it. The general reading public did not go so far in their admiration, but they went far enough : a critic in "Le Globe" (37) awarded a "succès populaire" to the "exotic" productions of Byron and Scott as well as to the "Messéniennes" and the "Méditations".

In 1825 appeared Amédée Pichot's "Voyage historique et littéraire en Angleterre et en Ecosse", which contained (38), not the lofty philosophical views of "De l'Allemagne", but very entertaining, instructive matter on the celebrated English and Scottish writers of the day. Though it was severely criticised later on, it attracted much attention for several years after its publication. A year after the "Voyage", Hy. Morel issued his prose-and-verse "Temple du Romantisme", of which it was said : "Les parvis du temple sont embellis des portraits d'Ossian, de Shakespeare, de Schiller et de lord Byron" (39). In 1827 an acute watcher of society remarked that one couldn't go among people with some pretensions to a knowledge of literature, unless one could mention some passage from Byron, a few Scotch words from the Waverley Novels or several of Moore's "Irish Melodies" (40). At this time, Léon Halévy brought out this "Poésies européennes" (41), which, consisting of free verse translations from the poetry of a dozen European languages, contained renderings of pieces by Shakespeare, Pope, Gay, Burns, Lewis, Scott and Moore ; "Le Globe", in its long review, gave six specimens, of which three were from the last trio named. Early the following year, a Frenchman observed (42) : "Byron et Walter Scott ont longtemps accaparé tout ce que nous pouvions accorder d'honneurs et d'applaudissements aux écrivains anglais ; plus tard, nous avons écouté les muses moins hardies de Thomas

(36) "Choses vues", 1887; cf. Mme de Genlis : "Mémoires", ix, 285 for anglo-mania in 1825.

(37) 24th March, O's article, "Du Romantique".

(38) As we read in "Le Globe" of 12th July 1825.

(39) "Annales de la littérature", XXII, 217.

(40) "Le Courrier des théâtres", 5th August 1827.

(41) For these facts, see "Le Mercure du xix^e siècle", XXII, circa p. 500, and "Le Globe", 15th Sept. 1827.

(42) "Le Globe", 23rd April 1828, p. 358.

Moore et de Campbell, et nous voyons enfin le vieux laurier de Shakespeare rajeunir sur les bords de la Seine".

The last reference was made to the company of English actors that played in Paris from September 1827 till the middle of the next year. The (43) better part of Parisian society considered their visit to be an event important for the community in general and for literary men in particular ; the English had proclaimed tolerance, they would practise it ; thinkers concerned with the progress of reason viewed, with lively satisfaction, the quiet and generous hospitality accorded to foreign rivalry ; lovers of art and literature equally applauded both the welcome given to Shakespeare and the kind of competition thus opened to the writers of every country. Just before the "English season" began, an anonymous critic (44) wrote thus imposingly : "Encourageons sans réserve toute conception dont le but sera de répandre quelque lumière nouvelle chez les deux peuples les plus éclairés de la terre, et tous les efforts qui tendent à cimenter une alliance si importante pour eux, si redoutable pour les autres ". The "Globe" (45) said that these performances would contribute toward ridding the French of their exclusive attitude, which tended to shackle intelligence ; that the enjoyment of Shakespeare didn't connote the abandonment of Racine and Molière ; that the English acting would greatly benefit French dramatic art ; but that it wished native playwrights to be too proud to rush into a series of imitations. The "Constitutionnel" (46) looked at the matter in a rather reactionary light : "Le mouvement de ces scènes insolites, le jeu de ces acteurs nouveaux, ce tumulte d'une représentation tour à tour sublime et bizarre, peuvent réchauffer le génie glacé de nos poètes... Sans doute, le succès de ces scènes anglaises offre le danger de faire naître un engouement préjudiciable aux lettres, et des déclamations de la part des ennemis de l'école classique ; mais qu'importe ? Racine et Molière, Corneille et Voltaire seraient bien faibles, s'ils avaient à craindre de pareilles attaques". Apparently the visitors had chosen their time well : "Les artistes anglais trouvèrent le public

(43) From here to the full stop is a free translation of a passage in the "Mercure du xix^e siècle", 1827, XVIII, 589.

(44) "La Pandore", 4th Sept. 1827.

(45) 30th August 1827.

(46) 24th Oct. 1827.

parisien tout chaud d'émotion, et demandant à grands cris, pour faire suite aux émotions passées, des émotions nouvelles" (47).

Not only English drama, but English literature in general had by 1828 become very important to France, as we see by the statement that A. Bignan, a fine classical scholar, made in the "*Mercure du XIX^e siècle*" (48) : "We cannot hide from ourselves the fact that our literature, carried far from the classical paths of Greece and Rome, is, by a movement beyond its control, being swept towards the literature of the middle ages and contemporary foreign literatures. Milton and Dante have caused the altars of old Homer and of Virgil to become a little neglected ; Shakespeare and Schiller have satisfied an emotional need for which we found no response in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. Lord Byron seems to us more poetical than Pindar, Walter Scott a more interesting historian and a more skilful novelist than Herodotus and Longus..... If antiquity is for us a thing really dead, we seek to walk in the tracks of the living literatures of other countries. In this way we do nothing but imitate : when comes the period of original composition ?" In the same year appeared Charles Coquerel's "*Histoire abrégée de la littérature anglaise*", in which the criticisms were said (49) to have shown a pure and practised taste, and in the "*Mercure du XIX^e siècle*" (50) figured a pleasant unsigned article, "*De l'esprit littéraire en Angleterre au dix-neuvième siècle*", which treats cursorily — the names merit citation — of Scott, Rogers, Moore, Crabbe, Campbell, Kirke White, Shelley, Leigh Hunt, Cowper, Darwin, Wilson, and at greater length of Byron, Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth. According to Armand de Pontmartin (51), the "Lakistes" were still little known in France at this date; and as late as 1841 Lacaussade (52) truly remarked that, for lack of translations that would have popularised their poetry, their names were better known than their works. Again in 1828, a critic asserted (53) that Scott's and Fenimore Cooper's

(47) Dumas: "*Mes Mémoires*" (22 voll., 1852-1854), XI, 101.

(48) 1828, XXII, 498.

(49) By an anonymous reviewer in "*La Pandore*", 14th July 1828.

(50) XXIII, 492-498.

(51) "*Souvenirs d'un vieux critique*", (10 voll., 1881-1889), 4th series.

(52) "*La France littéraire*", mid-1841, article on Coleridge.

(53) In the "*Mercure du XIX^e siècle*", XXIII, 595.

stories opened the eyes of his countrymen to their ignorance of the best foreign novels.

A little before this time, Shakespeare had come to be widely acclaimed as one of the "gods" of the modern movement in France : "Tout le monde sait que nos "romantiques" ont inscrit sur leur bannière le nom de lord Byron à côté de celui de Shakespeare" (54); in the early 'twenties he had been associated almost solely with the theatre and in many instances had served as a staunch man to oppose to Racine. Lesser writers also attracted attention ; late in 1829, Mézières delivered a course of lectures (55) on the English essayists.

The English language was becoming increasingly popular. Madame L. Swanton-Belloc (56), an authority on matters appertaining to the literature of Great Britain, said, with regard to a series of foreign classics, that "l'universalité de la langue anglaise rendait indispensable de mettre les principaux ouvrages des premiers écrivains de la Grande-Bretagne à la portée de toutes les fortunes" ; and a writer in "Le Temps" stated in 1832 that new English publications had an urgent interest for French readers, and that very soon after a work appeared at London it was found necessary to have the original text at Paris. Translations, nevertheless, seem to have become no less popular, and, in 1830, one B. M. (57) exclaimed : "Jamais on n'a plus demandé d'originalité à nos écrivains que depuis quinze ans, et jamais notre littérature n'a vécu autant de traductions" ; having drawn particular attention to Shakespeare, Byron and Scott, to Goethe and Schiller, he continued : "C'est à l'étude de ces auteurs qu'il faut attribuer sans doute en partie ce qu'il y a non seulement d'*étrangeté*, mais encore d'*étrangèreté*... dans certains de nos poètes modernes" ; a few months later, an anonymous journalist spoke feelingly of "notre siècle épuisé, condamné aux imitations et aux traductions" (58). In 1831, A. J. (59), a "chroniqueur", acutely observed that since the French people took it into their heads to "naturalise" Walter Scott, they had admitted many other writers, with the result that "nous transmuons à présent chaque livre en notre

(54) "Le Courrier des Théâtres", 4th April 1829.

(55) See "Le Temps" for the 12th and 23rd Dec. 1829. Next reference therefrom dates 2nd Aug. 1832.

(56) In the "Revue encyclopédique", Oct. 1830, re "The Poems of Ossian".

(57) "Le Mercure de France au dix-neuvième siècle", 1830, article: "Quelques notés sur les traductions".

(58) *Ibidem*, 1830, article on "La Batignolaise et l'omnibus".

(59) *Ibid.*, Sept. 1831, "chronique littéraire".

langue". Just about then, a critic on "Le Globe" (60) found it singularly astonishing that it was still necessary to open up new paths, for nothing but pioneering had been done during the past fifteen years : Scott had made one "new road", Fenimore Cooper another ; Vitet in "Les Barricades" a fresh route, Mérimée in "Clara Gazul", another ; in practical drama, Victor Hugo and Dumas were innovators ; in poetry, Lamartine and Sainte-Beuve (this latter represented an English influence), as well as De Musset, had contributed something unknown before.

That Shakespeare considerably influenced dramatic theory may be seen from this rather petulant yet essentially just remark : (61) "On citera Shakespeare et Schiller pour prouver qu'on peut mener, dans un drame, Napoléon Bonaparte du chêne de Brienne au saule de Sainte-Hélène, Mirabeau du fort de Joux au panthéon ; mais qui créera de nos jours les admirables caractères et la langue passionnée dont étincellent "Richard III" et "Wallenstein" ?" The influence of Scott was more patent ; more easy to determine, it was treated (62) thus by a critic of 1831 : — "Walter Scott has awakened throughout literary Europe a taste for romantic stories that serve as a garment and an adornment to the descriptions of manners and periods and to the poetical resurrection of places, sites, events and men. Success (always productive of imitation) and the genius of the celebrated Scotchman have extended their influence in France over our theatre, in which great men — dwarfs hoisted on stilts — have announced their will and their power to 'resuscitate the centuries' ; over the novel, which 'genuises at threepence a reading' exploit after the manner of Scott ; and finally over history, which, for the greater glory of 'local colour', has been reduced by a couple of writers to the barrenness of chronicles".

We may just note that late in 1832, Miss Smithson appeared in Paris with an inferior company of actors (63) and, naturally, had a poor reception. In that year, however, a startling declaration was penned : "Nous savons l'Angleterre, nous la savons au point que son esprit est devenu le nôtre" (64). This intimate knowledge of England doesn't seem to have prevented

(60) 12th March 1831, review of Sue's "Plik et Plok".

(61) Made by E. in the feuilleton of the "National", 6th Nov. 1831.

(62) In "L'Artiste", I 45.

(63) "Le Temps", 23rd Nov. 1832.

(64) Published in the Jan. 1833 number of "La France littéraire" in Falconet's article on German writers.

imitation and translation. A reviewer (65) stated his fear that the French passion for imitation was incurable : one was original only by following a model for the originality : to become original, to do something new, to form a school, to create, — all one did was to imitate Shakespeare instead of Boileau, the Middle Ages instead of the “grand siècle”, and foreigners instead of Frenchmen. In 1833, a writer on the staff of the “*Revue européenne*” (66) bravely maintained that translation had become one of the distinctive features, one of the important branches of contemporary French literature. Far from regarding this eagerness to take over foreign wealth as a sign of indigence and sterility, he considered it a proof of intellectual strength and of a powerful civilisation, for translators were the mediums for the exchange of wisdom from nation to nation, the chain that linked the various sections of human knowledge, the diplomats among men of lettres. Hardly to be classed under the same heading, yet very noteworthy, was the “*Revue des Deux Mondes*”’s translation (67) of Allan Cunningham’s essays on the English poets and novelists of the last fifty years ; but Jouslin de la Salle (68) referred to precisely this period when he mentioned “ces imitations étrangères qui avaient envahi, depuis quelques années, le domaine des beaux-arts”.

Many of these imitations were made from Byron and Scott, whose significance to France during the years 1820-1833 was well expressed by H. Fortoul (69), “a coming man”, at the latter date : “On its way, Romanticism met Byron and Scott, — who had been recently imported into France —, and took possession of them. Little recking what they represented, Romanticism wanted them for their stangeness, not their real value, and used them both, indiscriminately and together, as a means for carrying out a revolt. The young Romantics sought unity, and they made their first step towards it under the guardianship of Byron and Scott : they saw in these two writers a certain likeness in colour, one and the same redundancy of exotic images, an almost similar rhetorical wealth of Oriental metaphor. Orientalism arrived in our midst by leaps and bounds”. The very

(65) In the “*Revue européenne*”, Dec. 1832, in a book-notice; a free translation.

(66) Sept. 1833, in the notice on Ragon’s translation of “*Childe Harold*.”

(67) November-December, 1833.

(68) “*Souvenirs sur le Théâtre-Français*”, p. 5.

(69) “*Revue encyclopédique*”, July 1833, essay entitled “*De l’art actuel*”.

success of "Les Orientales" (1829), remarked Fortoul, drove numerous Romantics into other paths, with the result that Scott, as leader of the objective poets, was set over against Byron, the leader of the subjective poets.

Making no such differentiation, François de la Morvoannais (70) wrote in 1834 to his well-known brother, Hippolyte, that he congratulated him on giving himself to the study of English literature, which was fruitful and attractive, and said that they should thank those passable translators who introduced the great writers into France. If the translators were active, so was the "Revue Britannique", which, warmly praised, took much pride in its success. It could hardly be called a French periodical, for it consisted, in the main, of articles translated from English periodicals and of extracts rendered from English books. The frequent mediocrity of the French versions attracted from a contemporary the following observation, which, so far as the translations were concerned, pretty nearly hit the mark: "C'est la raison Defauconpret et compagnie, appliquée au journalisme" (71). Another cutting allusion to feeble work was made by Touchard-Lafosse (72), when, in 1835, he said of the minor writers of the day: "Ces singes des singes de Byron, de Walter Scott, de Lamartine, de Hugo, de Vigny, de Lamennais, dans certaines revues qui languissent... se déclarent les régulateurs d'une littérature que je les défie de définir".

A year, later, two critics reviewed the situation as it appeared to them to be for the past decade. N., in "La France littéraire" (73), complained that the Romantics had been so little able to discover a new order of ideas that they satisfied themselves most of the time with decking out, in their own way, the great writers of England and Germany, and he added that they had restricted themselves to Shakespeare, Byron and Goethe. (He should have mentioned also Scott and Schiller.) A reviewer in "La Quotidienne" (74) gave it as his opinion — pronounced in no uncertain fashion — that the French, following the English

(70) E. Fleury: "Hippolyte de la Morvoannais", 1911; letter of 9th May 1834.

(71) "La France littéraire", Aug. 1834. Lecler's article on French reviews.—Defauconpret was, of course, the indefatigable translator of Scott, Fenimore Cooper, Marryat, Bulwer Lytton, etc., etc.

(72) "Souvenirs d'un demi-siècle", V, in the note on Romantics and Classics, near beginning of volume.

(73) Dec. 1836, in "Budget littéraire".

(74) 27th Jan. 1836, in the "bulletin bibliographique".

step by step in the matter of contemporary publications, lost little time in "naturalising" any striking work that had been well received "beyond the Channel". A more optimistic view was taken by Louis Viardot (75), who considered that the numerous translations and critical works lately published had laid open a treasure-trove in making known "cette riche et puissante littérature qui comprend Shakespeare, Milton, Locke, Hume, Byron et Walter Scott". Shakespeare and Byron, nevertheless, were incriminated by "L'Univers" (76), — a newspaper that was always spoiling for the fray —, in these picturesque words : "Ces personnages à passions d'"Othello", accusent malheureusement, à notre avis, certain "romantisme" d'origine, romantisme néo-shakespearien ou byronien, qui a mis en vogue les yeux noirs, les cheveux noirs, les éternels orages du cœur, et débite en monnaie courante, dans les cercles et sur le pavé de Paris, les 'Rodrigue' et les 'Lara'". A more tolerant critic, Poujoulat, said, about 1838, that the works of Shakespeare and Byron, Goethe and Schiller, had been hospitably received in France and that from this intercourse sprang an imitative literature ; as one usually commences by copying defects, so a crowd of writers imitated the faults of the great English and German authors, especially in their obscurity. Once interested in English literature by Voltaire, the French soon passed from indifference to a sometimes blind enthusiasm, which, some years before 1838, as "Un Voltairien" (78) rather bitterly observed, became a veritable fanaticism : it was not sufficient to admire the beauties of Shakespeare and Milton, one had to admire even their defects or at any rate not speak of them. In 1839 : "Aimez-vous l'Angleterre, l'on en a mis partout ; le succès du "Sonneur de Saint-Paul" a anglaisé pour deux années au moins le théâtre de la Gaîté. Il semble qu'il n'y a plus de succès qu'avec la perfide Albion" (79). With regard to the novel, it may be observed that Tenant de Latour (80) feelingly alluded to "la nécessaire, l'inépuisable jouissance de toute notre génération, les "OEuvres de Walter Scott" et de "Cooper", naturalisées, en quelque façon, notre langue par M. Defauconpret". Again

(75) "Le Siècle", 3rd July 1837.

(76) 13th July 1837, L. Moreau's review of "Léa Cornélia".

(77) "Souvenirs d'histoire et de littérature", essay entitled "De la clarté dans le style".

(78) In "Le Constitutionnel", 26th July 1838.

(79) "Journal des Comédiens: Gazette des théâtres", 26th May 1839.

(80) "Mémoires d'un bibliophile".

in 1839, one G. L. (81), concerning a later class of novel, was moved to ask if, at a period when from every side English fashions were "invading" the Continent, it were not the obvious thing to do to import also the literary genre modelled on that society of bluestockings and dandies which French men of fashion gloried in imitating? — The "fashionable novel".

Nor had translation ceased. Philarète Chasles (82) stated that the secret of the misfortunes of publishers lay in the fact that his countrymen had since some time wanted to translate widely, quickly, and cheaply, and the next year (1840) Albert Dulac (83) remarked that since Byron and Scott became known, English literature had thriven in France, where translators coped indefatigably with the works that the English writers kept producing.

But apparently English wasn't taught in the schools until after 1840. True, G. de Nerval (84) tells us that in the latter half of the Restoration period, Walter Scott and Byron on the one hand, admiration for English "liberties" and usages on the other, had made fashionable the study of English, but he referred to grown-up people. Take, however, this passage from a speech delivered by Renan (85) in 1889: "...En anglais... Voilà une de mes hontes. De notre temps, on ne nous apprenait que le latin. Je lis l'anglais, mais je le comprends mal à l'audition, et je ne le parle pas". We may assume that, as he was born in 1823, he alluded to the approximate decade 1830-1840.

Probably the most arresting fact (86) with regard to the Eighteen-forties is that Shakespeare was much imitated, often by capable men, and that he overcame the Ponsard-Latour group of dramatists. There were not more Shakespearean imitations in the 'forties than in the 'thirties; if anything, less. But the adaptations by Dumas, Meurice, Deschamps, Vacquérie and Sauvage surpassed anything of a like kind done 1830-1839, and the visit of the English actors in 1844 put fresh strength into the "Shakespeareiens". Moreover, Shakespearean comedy received in 1840-1848 a much more adequate treatment than in the previous

(81) In "Le Temps", 7th Feb. 1839.

(82) "Journal des Débats", 12th Sept. 1839.

(83) "Le National", 24th May 1840.

(84) "L'Artiste", 22nd Dec. 1844, article on the English actors.

(85) "Feuilles détachées", 1892.

(86) For a fuller treatment of this aspect, see *infra*, chapter IV ("The Drama").

ten years ; indeed, the great dramatist called forth in the last decade of the Romantic period a more varied as well as a more powerful effort, and met with a more understanding audience as well as more sympathetic reviewers, than ever before ; nobody in 1844 adopted the attitude maintained by Ch. Maurice and Jouy in 1827.

The "Revue des Deux Mondes" showed in the 'forties a keen interest in English literature, and from 1840 to 1845 Philarète Chasles, in 1846-1847 E. D. Forgues ("Old Nick"), contributed many long, sound articles on general movements and individual writers. A rather curious indication (87) of the French regard for English literature at this time appears in the following passage about Dunaime and his "Début poétique" : "Nous ne saurions nullement partager ses jugements injustes sur Shakespeare, sur Schiller, sur Schlegel. Mais on comprend que, maîtrisé par l'indignation, il soit porté à confondre dans un même anathème les écrivains français de la nouvelle école et les écrivains étrangers dont ils se prétendent les disciples, quoiqu'ils n'aient su, le plus souvent, qu'imiter leurs défauts". Of course, although many learned and ingenious studies (88) had been written by the French on English literature, there remained, in the early 'forties, several phases not yet completely explored, a few names not yet sufficiently known. The wish and the heart to learn were there. The attitude to England was very favourable, and Chasles (89) no doubt spoke for many when he asserted that, by tastes, habits, antecedents, and a love for reality, the French had much more in common with the islanders than with the Germans in literature.

This disposition was extended to the actors that gave a short season in Paris in the winter of 1844-1845. "Quand il plaît aux artistes anglais de passer le détroit..., on les accueille avec joie, et tout ce qu'il y a d'intelligent à Paris se porte à ses solennités où le célèbre tragique anglais nous est offert", wrote one dramatic critic (90) ; "Les représentations du théâtre anglais ont été des plus suivies et des plus fashionables", wrote another (91). It seems that the Shakespearean pieces, in which Macready and

(87) "La Revue critique des livres nouveaux", April 1841.

(88) "La France littéraire", April 1842, H. Husson's opening to essay on Spenser.

(89) In the "Journal des Débats", 24th Feb. 1842.

(90) N. d'Abrantès in the "Gazette des théâtres", 19th Dec. 1844.

(91) A. de Jasincourt in the "Echo de la littérature", Jan. 1845.

Helen Faucit let themselves go, proved the most successful : "Chaque fois qu'on a joué "Hamlet" ou "Macbeth", le Théâtre-Anglais a eu un auditoire nombreux, attentif, souvent enthousiaste. Il n'en a pas été de même quand on a joué "Virginus" ou "Werner" (92). And "star" critics like Théophile Gautier or Hippolyte Lucas had a very good word for both the plays themselves and the acting.

In connection with this visit a journalist (93) said that the French of 1845 had a better knowledge of the English language than the French of 1827, and that the leading writers were now appreciated by all. Madame d'Arbouville (94) related to Sainte-Beuve in 1846 that, while she was staying with the literary La Ferté family, she heard Lord Normanby recite several passages from Shakespeare, and that among the other guests were Lord Brougham, Lady Normanby and M. de Frénilly. Even so late as this, Byron and Scott meant much to French literature, as one may (though not at a first glance, perhaps) see from the following statement made by Eugène Manuel concerning Chateaubriand : "Il domine tout notre siècle; il a connu tous les grands hommes, il a été mêlé à toutes les grandes choses. Il a tenu tête à Napoléon ; il est pour nous Byron et Walter Scott ensemble" (95).

English literature itself maintained its popularity. From a statistical article (96) published in 1847, and complete up till the end of the preceding year, we learn that the literature of Great Britain figured in the catalogues for a number much higher, than that of Germany. Sale-lists showed the poets and the novelists to be the most popular ; for instance, in fifteen years, Byron had been honoured with seven editions of his works printed in English at Paris and with ten complete editions in French; Milton, as translated by de Pongerville, had reached four editions in six years ; and the collection of English books issued by Baudry numbered some four hundred and twenty-five volumes. English

(92) J. L. (i. e. J. Lemoine) in the "Journal des Débats", 12th Jan. 1845.

(93) Armand de Jasinourt in "Echo de la littérature", Jan. 1845, in the "chronique parisienne".

(94) L. Séché's "Madame d'Arbouville..., documents inédits", 1900 ; letter of 8th October 1846.

(95) Eugène Manuel : "Lettres de jeunesse", 1909 ; letter of 4th Jan. 1846 to Laurent-Pichat.

(96) "Revue des Deux Mondes", 15th Nov. 1847, Ch. Louandre's "Statistique littéraire", p. 674.

literature attracted a less noisy, less vivid attention in the French press of the 'forties than it had done from about 1824 to 1838, but it received just as much notice ; only, the reviews and essays written on the subject were less extravagant, less vague, less poetic and rhetorical, and more solid, more precise, more balanced. Among the general public, too, according to the broad impression that one gets from not only the press but also the memoirs and letters of the time, the interest in English literature was more widely spread and more firmly rooted during the last decade of our period than during the years before. Now, late in 1848 (97), Janin, in the feuilleton of the very important "*Journal des Débats*", wrote as follows : "*Le temps n'est plus où la plus innocente découverte, dans les domaines étrangers, nous trouvait et nous tenait attentifs ; une époque de passions vivantes où l'émotion littéraire était poussée jusqu'à la fureur !... On invoquait tour à tour l'honneur de la France, la gloire de l'Angleterre, l'avenir de l'Allemagne, le passé de l'Italie*". That passage merits examination. In the first place, even a minor discovery in a foreign literature excited interest because in the 'twenties the French were in a state of literary upheaval and were looking round for something, whether at home or abroad, that would offer them a temporary anchor. We know that English constitutionalism, plus Byron-and-Scott, made a very considerable stir in France, the former as early as 1815, the latter from a couple of years later ; a stir much greater than that created by any other nation. It was, then, in English literature especially that the French were interested during the 'twenties, when, as well as till four or five years later, "literary emotion was pushed even to rage". The "living passions" ceased, so that the corresponding enthusiasms for literary finds became fewer and were bestowed only on such important events as "*Colomba*", "*Lucrèce*", Dumas and Meurice's "*Hamlet*" and Emile Deschamps's "*Macbeth*". In the late 'thirties and in the 'forties, English quietly kept its place as easily the most widely-read and admired foreign literature. The press of 1835-1848 contained far fewer references to, and articles on German literature than it accorded to the other, and the memoirs and letters of this period (as for the fourteen years preceding) show an even greater balance in favour of English literature. What foreign influences so powerfully affected

French men of letters during the whole Romantic period as those of Shakespeare in the drama, Byron, in poetry and Scott in history and the novel ? On the theatre, Schiller and (to a lesser degree) Calderon, — on epic poetry, Dante, exercised a considerable influence ; but the two former writers, as may be surmised from internal and proved from external evidence, profoundly reacted on fewer plays, whatever their quality, than did Shakespeare, while it may be doubted whether Dante determined so much as Milton the epic or semi-epic work of Soumet, Vigny, Hugo, and Lamartine. What about Goethe and Cervantes ? The former was greatly admired, once notably translated, and very little imitated by the French Romantics ; admired for example by George Sand, Hugo and Quinet, translated in part by Gérard de Nerval, and imitated most obviously by Gautier in “*La Comédie de la Mort*” ; he was referred to much less often than Byron, who ranked as the greater poet. Like Goethe, Cervantes compelled far more references than imitations ; his fame could not seriously be compared with that of Scott. Moreover, Shakespeare, Byron and Scott had a much greater general influence on French literary theory and practice, as well as on emotional “atmosphere”, than was exercised by Schiller, Goethe and Dante (98) ; the contemporary external evidence offered by periodicals, memoirs of all kinds, and correspondence bears out this statement, while the internal evidence, less wearisome to collect and more difficult to summarise, will certainly not contradict it and will probably add further weight thereto. Furthermore, very few people would deny that English literature in mass influenced French Romanticism much more than did German ; few indeed would, or at any rate could reasonably, deny that all the other European nations together had less effect than the British alone on French literature during the years 1820-1848 (99).

To these general remarks we may subjoin several more particular observations. Writing about 1851, Dumas the elder (100) stated of “*la génération actuelle*” that “*les études de son enfance*

(98) This is saying a lot, but I make the statement advisedly and with full sincerity. As to the external evidence (comprising matter that probably influenced the writings of the times), I give my general impression, which comes from a long period of concentrated and, I think I may say, representative reading.

(99) External evidence supports this assertion.

(100) “*Mes Mémoires*”, XI, 106.

lui ont fait Walter Scott aussi familier que Lesage ; Shakespeare aussi familier que Molière". Moreover, a certain French section, partly political, partly literary, worked, from (say) 1825 to the end of our period (and later), to bring their country and England into close intellectual and social relations ; Philibert Audebrand (101), who knew much about both literature and politics, named three of the principal "anglophiles" when he said that "Guizot, Ch. de Rémusat et Philartète Chasles ont voulu amener un grand rapprochement". He might well have added de Barante, de Broglie, Lamartine and E. D. Forgues. No great French thinker or writer did so much, as Guizot or Chasles for England, to effect a "grand rapprochement" with Germany. Certainly not Gérard de Nerval. Certainly not Edgar Quinet, who, the greatest French Romantic authority on the combined literature and philosophy of Germany, actually warned his country against the nation beyond the Rhine. J.-J. Ampère (102) thought more of English literature than he did of German.

Of course, we must be careful not to affirm that the whole mass of the French people were, during the Romantic period, reading widely in Shakespeare, Richardson, Ossian, Byron, Scott and Moore ; Audebrand (103), however, went too far in saying of the working classes in the eighteen-forties (the statement would more nearly apply to the early 'twenties) that "des littératures étrangères, ...ils ne connaissaient que l'étiquette du sac. Shakespeare seul était parvenu jusqu'à eux, mais pour trois drames seulement : "Macbeth", "Othello" et "Roméo et Juliette", for not only does man's general desire for knowledge, of which the upper and middle classes hold no monopoly, invalidate this assertion, but Verly (otherwise, E. Durand) (104) supplies us with an interesting point "for the opposition" when he relates, concerning some lower class "martyrs de la foi maçonnique" of 1857, that "parmi les livres, saisis pour servir de pièces à conviction, les magistrats enquêteurs trouvèrent avec surprise des romans d'Eugène Sue, de Walter Scott, de George Sand, l'"Histoire du Consulat" de Thiers, des ouvrages historiques de Guizot et d'Henri Martin...". We may take it that the working classes did not pay nearly so much attention as the upper strata of society

(101) His "Mémoires d'un passant", 1893.

(102) See *passim* his letters.

(103) See his "Derniers jours de la bohème", 1905.

(104) "Souvenirs d'une vieille barbe", 1892, p. 93.

to English literature, but it would be strange if the translations, widely advertised and often reviewed in the press, did not (largely by the way of the quay stalls and the main-city second-hand book shops) penetrate to the masses. Audebrand, when he said that no working man of the 'forties had read Byron, forgot that the English poet passed through numerous large editions and that his "Lara", "Corsair", "Don Juan" and other narrative poems were, as mere stories, very fascinating. A. de Pontmartin, better informed in matters literary, tells us that in 1820-1835 Scott was "devoured" by every section of society: it is not likely that the novelist, still widely popular as late as 1848, should have become utterly neglected by the masses in the 'forties. On the other hand, one readily understands that writers like Milton and Pope did not appeal to everybody.

A further useful commentary on the influence exercised by English literature on French during the Romantic period, and especially for the last decade, lies in the knowledge thereof and the attitude thereto shown by the two leaders of thought from 1860 to 1890, Renan and Taine, who, born in 1823 and 1828 respectively, were largely moulded by the forces with which they came into contact during the ten or so years ending with "the Third Revolution". A study of his various memoirs, "Cahiers", and letters indicates that Renan had a very fair knowledge of English literature and was considerably influenced by Scotch philosophy (far more esteemed than the Kantian by the French during the Romantic period) (105). Taine specialised (106) in the writings of Great Britain, considered that "la poésie anglaise, surtout la poésie lyrique et narrative, depuis Byron, Keats et Shelley, jusqu'à Tennyson et aux deux Browning, est en Europe la première de toutes" (107), and liked the English as a people (108).

Brief attention must be paid to translations and to series of English books. One of the best translators was Bruguière de Sorsum, a distinguished government official. Of his rendering of Southey's "Roderick", —the criticism applies to his work generally—, a contemporary (109) said: "M. B[ruguière] de S[or-"

(105) See *infra* the section on philosophy in Ch. VII.

(106) "H. Taine. Sa vie et sa correspondance", 4 vol., 1902-1907; e. g. letter of 25th May 1855; in general, letters of 1854-1863.

(107) *Ibidem*, letter of 5th March 1887.

(108) *Ibid.*, 15th July 1860 to Guizot.

(109) In "La Minerve littéraire", II (i. e. early 1821), Avenel's article, on 114 ff.

sum] semble posséder à un haut degré la qualité la plus essentielle du traducteur ; son style est parfaitement approprié à celui de l'original... Exercé dans ce genre de travail, il y pourrait servir de modèle, parce que, à une profonde intelligence de la langue de Southey, il joint l'habitude de la nôtre, et une grande connaissance de son génie poétique". He is better known for his version of some Shakespeare's plays: a hard-to-please, independent newspaper (110) of the time declared that this translation would endure, because it manifested great talent and conveyed better than any other the "physiognomy" of the dramatist. A far less literary translator, but an able publicist, A. Pichot chose his mark well and wasted no opportunity. Starting in 1814, he finished Byron ten years later ; he brought out "Lalla Rookh" in 1820, when he began collaborating with Defauconpret, Artaud and others on a version of Scott's novels; in 1820-1821 he translated Scott's longer poems ; in 1834, "The Last Days of Pompeii" ; twelve years later, Godwin's "Caleb Williams" : while in the 'fifties he rendered "The Caxtons", "Christmas Tales", and one of Macaulay's historical works (111). Though he was essentially an opportunist, he yet must have possessed an enviable literary acumen: he had completed his version of Byron before anybody else commenced to publish one. An even harder worker was Defauconpret, who made known many more foreign and especially English books than any other translator ; though devoid of the fine taste of Bruguière de Sorsum, and less sharp than Pichot, he had the advantage of being even more conversant with every-day English. In 1834 he was called "le seul traducteur d'anglais qui ait aujourd'hui un nom en France et en Angleterre, tant il a traduit de livres et d'excellents livres" (112). Charles Bocher (113) tells us that in 1830 he and his brother had for "proviscur" the "traducteur bien connu de Walter Scott". Though J. Martin beat him in the field with his "Guy Mannering" (1816), Defauconpret really made Scott known by his version of "Old Mortality" in 1817 ; after that, he never turned back. Duruy in his "Notes et souvenirs" (114) mentions him as the

(110) "La Pandore", 12th June 1826.

(111) Reviews of these translations can be seen in all the leading periodicals of the time.

(112) "Journal des Débats", 12th Aug. 1834, in review by C.-R.

(113) His "Mémoires" (2 vol., 1906-1907), I

(114) 2 vol., 1901.

translator of Scott and Cooper ; F. Y. Besnard (115) alludes to him as "traducteur de Walter Scott, etc.". About 1836 he began a complete Marryat, for which he was praised as "ce laborieux et intelligent écrivain" (116) ; but, getting old, he probably read five years later that he "sufficed still for novels like those of Bulwer Lytton" (117 ; he died in harness in 1843. B. Laroche, a much better prose-writer than Defauconpret, entered comparatively late on the career of translation, but his Shakespeare (1838-1839), the first complete version since Guizot's revision of *Le tourneur*, met with a very favourable reception from the press (118) : his Byron, a little earlier, constituted a useful point of comparison with Pichot's freer rendering : his Sheridan (1841) was also excellent. He won, not a wide popularity but a genuine "succès d'estime".

Certain translations call for a short notice. Shakespeare was, in the Romantic period, completely translated by Guizot, Laroche, and F. Michel. In 1825, according to Mme de Genlis (119) there existed no really satisfactory rendering. The earliest and the most arresting version of a choice of his plays was that of Bruguière de Sorsum in 1826 ; the baron used prose and rimed or blank verse just where it came in the original : "C'est la première fois", wrote a contemporary (120), "qu'un écrivain français ose nous reproduire Shakespeare tel qu'il est... La version de M. de Sorsum est toujours fidèle ; elle ne manque ni de concision, ni d'énergie". Another notable selection was that made by Nisard, Lebas and Foulet in 1838, while Jay and Louise Colet turned some plays into French about the same time. And of course a few plays were translated separately. De Vigny's "Othello", Barbier's "Jules César", Emile Deschamps's "Roméo et Juliette" and Dumas and Meurice's "Hamlet" were produced in and for a period of combat (121) ; other pieces that must be mentioned are de Vigny's "Marchand de Venise", Jules Lacroix's "Macbeth" and Emile Deschamps's rendering of the same play.

Milton came properly into his own late in the Romantic

(115) "Souvenirs d'un nonagénaire" (ed. by C. Port, 2 vol., 1880), II, 203.

(116) "Revue des Deux Mondes", Feb. 1837, notice on "Japhet".

(117) "Le National", 27th May 1841, review by E. D. Forgues.

(118) E. g. "Le Siècle", 16th June 1843, notice by O. Fournier.

(119) Mme de Genlis : "Mémoires" (10 vol., 1825), IX, 262.

(120) "Revue britannique", May 1826, in the "Annonces bibliographiques". I quote this in preference to de Vigny's review, which is pretty generally known.

(121) Blaze de Bury . "Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs" (1883), p. 165.

period. He had been partly translated by Aignan (122) in 1823, but it was in 1836-1841 that he was put very clearly before the French public. "M. de Chateaubriand, se faisant parmi nous l'interprète de Milton, l'intérêt du "Paradis perdu" s'accroît de toute la popularité de son traducteur" (123). In 1840 appeared the "Œuvres choisies de Milton, traduction nouvelle", done by Kervyn de Kellenhove, who was "versé... dans la littérature anglaise avec une intimité dont les preuves éclatent non seulement dans la traduction, mais encore dans les commentaires qui l'accompagnent, et dans l'introduction qui la précède..." (124) The following year saw the publication of the well-known rendering by de Pongerville, who, says Ph. Chasles (125), "a prouvé qu'il était digne... d'un tel modèle".

More famous in France than in England, Pope was little translated during these years. As late as 1826, however, Ourry's version of "The Rape of the Lock", which came out in 1802, was noticed at length in the "Annales de la littérature" (126). Four years later, there appeared the "Œuvres complètes de Pope. Nouvelle traduction revue, corrigée, augmentée du texte anglais..., ornée..." (127). Two of his contemporaries, Defoe and Swift, were likewise more admired than translated. In 1837, Mme Tastu published her translation of "Robinson Crusoe": "L'œuvre de Foe y est reproduite dans son entier... Mais on fera bien..., pour une seconde édition, de revoir le style, de lui donner plus d'élégance, plus de mouvement... Un livre tel que celui-là dont le succès est assis sur des bases inébranlables, mérite bien qu'on s'y reprenne à plusieurs fois" (128). The most striking version of Swift was the "'Gulliver', traduction nouvelle. Illustrée par Grandville, I voll. grand in-8, orné de 400 gravures..." (129). Like these three writers, Gray remained popular: in the "Annales de la littérature" (130) of 1822 appeared J. B. A. Soulié's verse rendering of the "Elegy", a work that brought the translator the

(122) "Bibliothèque étrangère d'histoire et de littérature" (translations from Milton, Chesterfield, and Beattie), 1823.

(123) "La Quotidienne", 26th July 1836, review by Poujoulat.

(124) "La Revue de Paris", Sept. 1840, A. Bussière's 6-page review of this translation.

(125) In the "Journal des Débats", 24th Aug. 1841.

(126) XXIV, 18.

(127) "Journal des Débats", 26th May 1830.

(128) "Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", Aug. 1837; for general matter, see W. W. Mann's "Robinson Crusoe en France", 1916.

(129) An advertisement in "Le Siècle", 5th Nov. 1844.

(130) VI, 83 ff.

nickname of "Le Saule pleureur" ; and in 1837 Hoyau turned the Poetical Works into French,— "la traduction... n'est pas sans mérite", said Poujoulat (131) in his usual measured way.

The polygraphic Goldsmith (132) maintained his position, largely owing to Nodier's excellent translation of "The Vicar of Wakefield" in 1837 ; in that year, "The Citizen of the World" reached its second edition in French. His contemporary, Sheridan, was honoured in 1836 with Bonnet's translation of the plays, which "enjoyed a well-deserved success" (133) and, after an interval of five years, with Laroche's able rendering (134) of the complete Works. .

The poets Chatterton and Burns were not neglected. Early in 1839 appeared Pagnon's version of Chatterton (135) (who must have been difficult to handle), while thirteen years earlier the Frenchman J. B. Mesnard and the Scotchman Aytoun had fittingly put their heads together to bring out their "Morceaux choisis de Burns" (136).

Two novelists, somewhat alike in their manner, were well known in France. Lewis's "Monk" appeared in 1838 as translated by Morellet and two years later, with an introduction, by Léon de Wailly (137), one of the best translators of 1840-1860 ; Maturin's "Melmoth" was done twice at the beginning of our period, the fuller and more trustworthy version being J. Cohen's (138).

Then come a number of poets. Campbell was kept in verse by Albert Montémont (139) (another versatile translator) in 1824, and he figured the following year in Loève-Weimar's "Ballades, légendes et chants populaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Ecosse" and in some translations by E. D. in "Le Globe" (11th January). About this time, too, Roger's "Pleasures of memory" was translated by Montémont (140). Attention to Southey, at least on a large scale, was confined to "Roderick", which lured Bruguière de

(131) In "La Quotidienne", 25th Aug. 1837.

(132) For both facts, see "La Quotidienne", 7th May 1837.

(133) "Le Constitutionnel", 14th March 1838.

(134) "Le Siècle", 16th June 1843, review by O. Fournier.

(135) "Revue de Paris", last "bulletin" of June 1839.

(136) "Le Globe", 13th July 1826.

(137) Advertisement in "La Quotidienne", 23rd May 1840.

(138) So Nodier tells us in "Annales de la littérature", III. 178.

(139) See E. D.'s review in "Le Globe", 30th Nov. 1824 ; only "The Pleasures of Hope".

(140) A favourable review appeared in "La Pandore", 28th June 1825.

Sorsum (141) in 1820, Anillet le Sagries (142) ("le chevalier A.") the next year, and de Caqueray in 1841. Though Wordsworth and Coleridge (143) were translated in short flights by Romantics, the former appeared notably in book-form only in 1850, the latter in 1877.

In 1820 was published a "Choix de poésies de Byron, W. Scott et Moore", by an anonymous translator, and it was perhaps to this that Avenel referred a year later: "Walter Scott, Moore et Byron sont déjà connus chez nous par des traductions que tout le monde a lues" (144). These three writers kept the intermediaries very busy, more busy in mass than did Shakespeare and Milton together; but we must remember that Shakespeare had long existed in Letourneur's rendering and Milton (145) had been much translated during the first score years of the century. Byron was translated whole by Pichot, Paris and Laroche, in that order, Pichot starting long ahead of the others; he finished the first series in 1820, the second in the year of Byron's death. In 1820 also, Chastopalli (146) issued his faithful and elegant version of most the poetry that the poet had written up till that date. In 1823 Fabre d'Olivet published "une imitation plutôt qu'une traduction" of "Cain"; and the anonymous author of an essay (149) on Byron wrote (the reference being undoubtedly to Pichot and Chastopalli): "La traduction française de ce poète a été faite avec plus de soin que celle du romancier écossais". Four years later appeared Paris's "Don Juan", which forestalled by five the last instalment of that translator's complete version: "Le défaut principal de M. Paris est le manque d'élégance et d'inspiration... Sa version... est d'une exactitude un peu gênée" (149). About the same time Pauthier (150) brought out what seems to have been a pleasing translation of "Childe Harold": in 1830 Pichot's complete rendering reached its seventh edition, in which the translator, encouraged by the growing tolerance towards By-

(141) "La Minerve littéraire", II, 114 ff., Avenel's review.

(142) *Ibidem*, II, 96.

(143) "Ballades et petits poèmes", tr. by F. Richomme; "The Ancient Mariner" by A. Barbier, Michiel's prose version having appeared in 1837 in "L'Artiste".

(144) "Revue encyclopédique", March 1821, 517.

(145) See Lanson's "Manuel bibliographique", 2nd edition, p. 950.

(146) "Journal du Commerce", 1st Oct. 1820.

(147) "Revue encyclopédique", Aug. 1823.

(148) "Annales de la littérature", XII, 200.

(149) "Le Globe", 18th Aug. 1827.

(150) "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XXII, 173-176.

ron's verbal audacities, was more exact than in the first edition (151) ; three years after, Ragon's "Childe Harold" met with a good reception (152); 1835 saw the first volume of Laroche's "OEuvres complètes de lord Byron, traduction nouvelle", completed two years later: "M. Benjamin Laroche nous initie à des beautés qui, jusqu'ici, étaient restées dans l'original, et nous donne un grand nombre de poèmes qui n'avaient jamais été traduits" (153).

Thomas Moore was much translated, but he an to far fewer editions than Byron in France. In 1820, Pichot dealt with "Lalla Rookh", partly done also by someone else (154). More popular was "The Loves of the Angels", rendered in 1823 by Davesières de Pontès (155) and, along with the "Irish Melodies", by Mme L. Swanton-Belloc, whose work was praised (156) for the singular felicity of its execution, combining scrupulous fidelity with perfect ease ; in 1829, in verse by Aroux (157), who pleased the critics pretty well ; the next year, also in verse by Moutardier (158), in whose translation an anonymous reviewer found "de l'élégance sans recherche, de la naïveté sans prétention, et une grande intelligence d'un texte assez difficile". "The Epicurean" was very well translated by Mme Aragon (159) in 1827 ; another version was issued by Renouard twenty years later. In 1841, Mme Swanton-Belloc put Moore's best poems into French and Mandelsloh versified the "Melodies"; in 1840, Victor S... made a free verse translation of "Paradise and the Peri" (from "Lalla Rookh") that received at least one enthusiastic review (160) ("jamais nous n'avons trouvé la pensée de Thomas Moore rendue avec plus de perfection").

Scott in a way fared better than Moore. Nine of his novels were translated (at least four of them by Defauconpret) by the end of 1820 ; four complete translations of his novels, — one by a group, then Defauconpret's (finished in 1840), A. de Montémont's (finished in 1832), and Léon de Wailly's (1847-1849) —,

(151) "Le Constitutionnel", 15th May 1830, advertisement.

(152) "Revue européenne", Sept. 1833.

(153) "La Nouvelle Minerve", end of 1835 ; notice on this translation.

(154) As an "Histoire orientale" : see "La Quotidienne", 1st May 1820.

(155) F. Grille : "Miettes", 3 voll. 1853, last sentence.

(156) See the "Journal des Débats", 14th July 1823, in the news-items. Cf. the "Revue encyclopédique", for Feb. 1830.

(157) See e. g. the "Revue encyclopédique", Jan. 1830.

(158) "Le Constitutionnel", 24th April 1830.

(159) "Journal du Commerce", 15th Dec. 1827.

(160) "Echo de la littérature", Nov. 1843, notice by A. Durantin.

had appeared by 1849 ; two versions of his poems—those by Pichot and Montémont — were out by 1832, while his “*Marmion*” was translated twelve years before ; and in 1826, Artaud published in French the “*Border Minstrelsy*”, and somebody else the *Essays* (161). But his “interpreters” served him badly, and as early as 1823 at least two weighty and outspoken complaints were made : “*La traduction française de ses ouvrages est, en général, détestable*” ; (162) “*Vous ne pouvez vous faire d’idée de la platitude des traductions françaises des romans de Walter Scott*” (163). A few years later we find a critic alluding to “*ces informes traductions que nous avons tous dévorées*” (164). In 1835, new editions (165) appeared of Defauconpret’s translation, to which were added the notes and introduction of Scott’s Edinburgh edition, and Montémont’s, corrected also by the Edinburgh ; in 1840 Defauconpret’s translation ran to another edition and Montémont’s reached its fourth (166), and we see advertised “*Le Walter Scott de la jeunesse. Traduction nouvelle et abrégée..., avec des notices historiques sur les lieux, les événements et les personnages ; par M. d’Exauvillez. — 3o vol. gr. in-12. Prix de chacun, 2 f.*”. (167)

Not so important as the translations, but important enough, are the various series of English books, mostly in the original, published in Paris. These form an interesting and much-neglected commentary on the English influence on French Romanticism and indicate, quite as much as extra-serial translations, the appeal made by a foreign literature ; they constitute, in fact, a reliable test of the actual demand for that literature. Mme Dufrénoy, in her “*Bibliothèque choisie pour les dames*” (168), which flourished in 1821, paid much attention to English literature and gave extracts from Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Dryden, Prior and many others. About 1822, W. Lake (169) edited in thirty-six volumes a series entitled “*Select British Prose Writers*” ; in

(161) For convenience, see Lanson’s “*Manuel bibliographique*”, 2nd ed. pp. 1154-1155. The press often refers to these translations.

(162) “*Annales de la littérature*”, XII, 155.

(163) “*Correspondance de Stendhal*”, 12th Feb. 1823.

(164) J. in the “*Revue encyclopédique*”, Aug. 1831, re “*Le Roi des ribauds*”.

(165) See the “*Journal des Savants*” June 1835.

(166) For M. see “*Le Siècle*”, 13th May 1840, for D., the “*Siècle*” of a week later.

(167) “*La Quotidienne*”, 13th May 1840. In the no. of 25th Dec. 1841, four volumes are advertised.

(168) See “*Le Constitutionnel*”, 24th Sept. 1821.

(169) *Ibidem*, 1st May, 1822.

that year J. Lefevre (170), a publisher, issued "Une Collection des poètes anglais", and Malepeyze (171) started a series of thirty-six volumes, the first four being "The Vicar of Wakefield", "The Man of Feeling", Bacon's "Essays", and "The Sentimental Journey". Dauthereau's *Collection des meilleurs romans français et étrangers*", which was in full swing in 1827, contained (172) a number of English works; in 1828 was published an anthology (173) in two volumes called "The Living Poets of England". Two years later we hear of the "Bibliothèque des classiques anglais et italiens" (174). Baudry's "Librairie européenne" (175) contained many English works. In 1835 was projected the "Bibliothèque Anglo-Française" (176), directed by the Anglo-French O'Sullivan, and late in the following year we read that this littérateur "a déjà puissamment contribué à populariser en France la littérature anglaise, par la publication de ses "Elegant Extracts", contenant des notices critiques et biographiques sur plus de deux cents auteurs anglais anciens et modernes. Mais cet ouvrage n'était que le prélude de la magnifique entreprise qu'il dirige avec autant de talent que de persévérance" (177). By 1842, Baudry had set afoot a "Collection of Standard British Authors" (known also as the "Collection des meilleurs ouvrages de la littérature britannique"), which at its inception drew from Ph. Chasles the praise: "C'est un trésor vraiment précieux pour les amateurs, chaque jour plus nombreux, de la littérature anglaise, que cette bibliothèque économique et progressive" (178), and five years later numbered over four hundred volumes.

A rather different point of view is gained from examining the reaction of individual English writers on French Romanticism, and the particular details offer both a check and a supplement to the general aspects of our subject. We obtain some interesting side-lights on the popularity of certain writers.

Of those before Shakespeare, only Chaucer and Spenser attracted noteworthy the attention of the public. Even their

(170) "Le Constitutionnel", 18th June, 1822.

(171) "La Quotidienne", 2nd June 1822, on p. 4.

(172) As we see by "Le Constitutionnel" of 28th Feb. 1827.

(173) *Ibidem*, 2nd Nov. 1828.

(174) "Revue encyclopédique", Oct. 1830, Mme Sw.-Belloc's article on "The Poems of Ossian".

(175) "J. des Debats", 12th March 1835, advertisements.

(176) "Le Temps", 18th May 1835.

(177) "Revue britannique", Nov. 1836, "Bulletin bibliographique", VI-VII.

(178) *Ibidem*, Feb. 1842, p. 436.

reputation was very modest. One of the earliest important references to Chaucer was made in the "*Revue européenne*" (179) in 1832 : "... Geoffrey Chaucer, le père de la poésie anglaise, un des plus curieux poètes du moyen âge, observateur fin et pittoresque plus qu'aucun autre de cette époque", this passage being followed by a longish translation from one of the "*Tales*". Then in 1838 Delécluze contributed an article on Chaucer to the second "*Revue française*". In 1847 appeared H. Gomont's "*Geoffrey Chaucer... Analyse et fragments*", reviewed thus by an authoritative contemporary : (180) "On saura gré à M. Gomont d'avoir introduit dans notre littérature, au moyen d'une traduction aussi fidèle qu'élégante, les fragments les plus intéressants d'un poète dont le nom est beaucoup plus connu en France que ses ouvrages" ; the final phrase aptly sums up the poet's position during the Romantic period. Spenser was accorded in a very progressive newspaper (181) of 1827 a brief notice, to which the writer appended the translation of a short passage from "*The Fairy Queen*" ; twelve years later, Chasles could rightly say that this poem was hardly known in France (182) ; and in 1842 Hyacinthe Husson prefaced a capable and appreciative article (183) on Spenser with the remark that this poet was one of those few Englishmen whom recent criticism had not ranked sufficiently high.

But Shakespeare attracted much attention and caused many discussions. More than anyone else, he was regarded as the literary genius most representative of the Romantics — as the greatest and the most typical Romantic. In drama, Schiller was often cited along with him, but for general significance Shakespeare was nearly always named alone. He had many opponents in the eighteen-twenties among the Classics, a few in the thirties among the neo-Classics, and still fewer in the forties among the members of "*The Commonsense School*" of dramatists. His opponents were more bitter and violent in the early than in the later part of our period : his supporters were a little more enthusiastic, but less numerous and less fundamentally sure of themselves, in the years before than in the years after "*Hernani*".

(179) July 1832, in an anonymous article.

(180) "*Journal des Savants*", Nov. 1847, bibliography.

(181) "*Le Globe*", 25th Aug. 1827.

(182) "*Journal des Débats*", 28th Aug. 1839.

(183) In "*La France littéraire*", April 1842.

The evolution of Shakespeare's position in Romantic France may be put thus : in the 'twenties, he was the very powerful pretender to a throne; having won it about 1829, he consolidated his position in the 'thirties; and in the next decade, he ruled as sovereign over a prosperous and fairly-contented dominion, which several competent deputies helped him to govern. Just because his position was safer, he gave rise to less argument in the 'forties than in years 1820-1830 ; nevertheless, he kept the critics interested, partly because men like Jules Lacroix, Maurice, Dumas and Deschamps showed that they could do well as rather independent exponents of their master's methods and as (sometimes not fully understanding) disciples of his moral and aesthetic creed. Those deputies, however, always felt and often declared their allegiance.

In considering particular references to Shakespeare, it must be borne in mind that Hector Berlioz (184) ("l'image même de 1830" (185)) stated an important fact when he wrote : "Il est bien plus difficile à un Français de sonder les profondeurs du style de Shakespeare, qu'à un Anglais de sentir les finesses et l'originalité de celui de La Fontaine et de Molière" (186).

In January 1821, an anonymous critic (187), associating himself with the Classics, ventured the words : "Shakespeare va décidément prendre la place de Corneille... Nos adversaires s'apprêtent à nous porter le coup mortel. Une nouvelle édition de Shakespeare est annoncée ; l'éditeur vient d'en publier le prospectus" ; two months later : "Quelle bonne fortune pour les romantiques ! Shakespeare est leur patriarche ; c'est le fondateur de la nouvelle école" (188), the particular reference being to Guizot's revision of Letourneur ; a few weeks after this, E. J. of "Le Miroir" (189), whom we presume to be the editor, that out-and-out reactionary, Etienne Jouy, went so far as to admit and to repeat, that this man was not a "barbarian". In 1822, Stendhal (190) emphatically asserted that French writers of the time were afraid of the great dramatist, and said (191) advisedly that in

(184) He was perhaps the first to put it so clearly.

(185) As Ernest Legouvé described him in "Soixante ans de souvenirs".

(186) H. Berlioz : "Mémoires", 2 voll., 1869.

(187) In "Le Constitutionnel", 13th Jan. 1821.

(188) *Ibidem*, 19th March 1821.

(189) 4th May 1821.

(190) In his "Correspondance", letter of 5th Aug. 1822.

(191) "Correspondance", at 11th Nov 1822.

the public libraries seven or eight copies of Letourneur recast by Guizot did not suffice for the young men eager to read Shakespeare. Early the following year appeared the anonymous "Pensées de Shakespeare, suivies de quelques scènes de ses tragédies et de son testament" (192). From November 1824 to October 1826, E. D. (193) contributed a series of six "Etudes sur Shakespeare" to the "Globe", and in the first (194) he not only observed that people talked a lot about the subject of his article without knowing him well, but made this notable statement: "Il faut rendre Shakespeare accessible à tout le monde, en un mot le populariser, le faire lire dans des traductions vivantes et animées, et surtout donner envie à nos jeunes littérateurs de le lire dans l'original". Referring to the position of Shakespeare in France about 1825, the charming Blaze de Bury (195) has written: "C'est autour de son nom que se livre la grande bataille entre classiques et romantiques ;... il a contre lui Hoffmann le librettiste du théâtre Feydeau et Geoffroy le feuilletoniste des "Débats", et pour lui... Hugo, Dumas, Vigny, et tous les rédacteurs du "Globe". Magnin of the latter journal devoted to Shakespeare some excellent articles in 1827-1828, and it was he who, several months previously, issued this gentle hint: "Nous recommandons aux bonnes gens qui se chargent pour notre édification d'amender Shakespeare, Schiller et Goethe, de tâcher d'avoir la main un peu plus légère, et de ne pas tuer leur homme comme l'ours de la fable, pour le débarrasser d'une mouche incommode" (196). About this time, an esteemed review (197) declared that Shakespeare, who had only lately come to exercise a marked influence on French literature, contained in himself a whole dramatic system. In 1828, the enthusiastic though no longer youthful Emile Deschamps penned the following notable words (198) to the more phlegmatic Guiraud, concerning an early rehearsal of his and De Vigny's never-played "Roméo et Juliette": "Le grand Shakespeare a triomphé de tout... Nous

(192) For a short notice, see "Le Miroir", 11th Jan. 1823 (of course the book may have come out at the end of 1822); the critic seems to have forgotten Nodier's similar book on Shakespeare.

(193) Probably Etienne Delécluze or Emile Deschamps.

(194) 27th Nov. 1824.

(195) In "Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs", 167-168.

(196) In "Le Globe", 21st June 1827.

(197) "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1827, XIX, 36, article by M. R.

(198) Léon Séché: "Le Cénacle de Joseph Delorme" (2 voll., 1912), I, 262-263; letter of 1st May 1828.

combattrons pour Shakespeare, comme nous ne combattrions pas pour nous... Nous ne mettrons ni amour propre ni intérêt dans cette affaire. L'amour de l'art et l'admiration d'un grand homme, voilà tout". A year later, Chateaubriand recalled, with obvious pleasure, to Mme Récamier, how she used to sing to him a favourite air from Shakespeare (199). Early the next year was published the "Galerie de Shakespeare" (200), containing notices and numerous engravings; and about this time Laboulaye, who was soon to become a celebrated legist and historian, used to "glorify" Shakespeare at his college (201). In 1833 a critic asked why our dramatist was "the King" of the modern intellectuals, the master of modern art, and himself explained this as due to his analytical way of divesting man as a unit and as an individual of his "wrappings"; to his manner of differentiating men in their essentials without depriving them of their various striking qualities; to his marvellous faculty for penetrating and understanding everything; and to his probing yet non-destructive sagacity. In 1834, Esquiros (203), poet and publicist, said that just then Shakespeare and Dante furnished the literary aesthetics and theory of the Romantics, the former representing the human, the latter the divine element. Shakespeare must have been "in the air", for we find Flaubert (204) reading his plays at the age of fourteen, and the classic-loving duchesse d'Abrantès (205) committing herself to this concession: "Beethoven était de cette même nature que Dieu donne à des âtres comme Michel-Ange, Raphaël et Dante. J'ajouterai, Shakespeare". People were forming definite ideas on popularising his work, and one of the commonest, as it was the most obvious, amounted to literal translation of the facts in a style keeping as closely as possible to the genius of both languages (206). But sometimes he served unusual purposes: a reviewer (207) of E. Deschamps and Berlioz's dramatic symphony, "Roméo et Ju-

(199) "Souvenirs et correspondance tirés des papiers de Madame Récamier" (2 voll., 1859), letter of 15th Jan. 1829.

(200) See advertisement in the "Journal des Débats", 19th Feb. 1830.

(201) A. de Pontmartin: "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", fifth series.

(202) In "L'Europe littéraire", 4th March 1833; the anonymous writer is probably Alph. Royer.

(203) "La France littéraire", Nov. 1834, article on Dante.

(204) See his "Correspondance" (4 voll., 1887-1893), letter of 14th Aug. 1835.

(205) In her "Mémoires sur la Restauration" (6 voll., 1835-1836), VI, ch. II (probably written in 1836).

(206) See e. g. "La Quotidienne", 18th Dec. 1837, article by J. T.

(207) A. Specht in "L'Artiste", end of 1839.

liette", remarked in 1839 that Shakespeare "had the misfortune to be in the fashion ". At the end of 1841 appeared "Le Mémorial de Shakespeare" (208), which consisted of Lamb's "Tales from Shakespeare" translated, an introduction by Charles, and Lives of the dramatist and the essayist by Pichot. In February 1843, a critic in a leading daily (209) stated that, though much-talked-about, Shakespeare was not yet well known in France and that prejudice against him still existed in many minds; as if in reply to this exaggerated opinion, Clémence Robert's novel, "William Shakspeare", began in the feuilletons of the same newspaper at the end of the year. In 1845, E. Maron was moved to declare (210) that if any poet had in France been admired, preached and eulogised since some years back, it was certainly Shakespeare. About this time, "an extremely witty parody" of "Hamlet" was produced, by way of entertainment, at the house of Emile de Girardin (211), and J. Lemoinne (212), an able critic, mentioned that everyone was supposed to know by heart "Othello", "Hamlet" and "Macbeth". In 1846, Vacquerie, who had already proved an excellent practical knowledge of the English dramatist, spoke forth vigorously: "Combattre les misérables préjugés d'un étroit enseignement, substituer aux puérils conseils des rhétoriques l'éloquente leçon des chefs-d'œuvre, faire Shakespeare professeur de peuple, au lieu de La Harpe, — voilà le but qu'atteindront les traductions littérales" (213). Not only to the militant young fellows like Vacquerie, but to the quiet and rather solitary men like Amiel (214), Shakespeare made a strong appeal. When we recall that J. Lacroix's "Macbeth" had appeared in 1840, E. Deschamps's "Roméo et Juliette" and Sauvage's "Roi Lear" (played) in 1844, Meurice and Vacquerie's imitations, "Falstaff" and "Le Capitaine Paroles", played in 1842 and 1843, Meurice and Dumas's "Hamlet" played in 1847 and E. Deschamps's "Macbeth" the following year, we are rather sur-

(208) Reviewed by "Old Nick" in "Le National", 7th Jan. 1842.

(209) "Le Siècle", 20th Feb. 1843, probably written by H. Lucas.

(210) "La Revue indépendante", April 1845, article on the "Rôle du peuple dans le drame historique et national".

(211) See Ad. Laferrière: "Souvenirs d'un jeune premier", 1884. Laferrière and Dumas père had parts.

(212) "Journal des Débats", 12th Jan. 1845. Lemoinne was of partly English extraction.

(213) "L'Epoque", 21st Sept. 1846.

(214) "H. F. Amiel: Lettres de jeunesse", ed. by P. Flat; letters of 12th March and 4th August 1847.

prised at Lorain's pessimistic outburst (215) in 1848 : "Notre érudition commune sur Shakespeare s'est bornée à lire dans la première traduction venue, bien plutôt que dans l'original, quelques-uns de ses drames principaux... Puis, nous murmurons légèrement "to be or not to be",... et nous croyons savoir Shakespeare". Of the general mass of French Romantics, Alex. Weill (216) observed that "on ne jurait que par Shakespeare et par Goethe", while Louis Philippe himself was familiar with the plays and truthfully said to Croker in 1850 : "Je connais bien votre Shakespeare, et... je le sais presque par cœur" (217). Allying himself naturally with the Romantics, Dumas père (218) calls Shakespeare "notre grand maître à tous". Indicative of his fame are the following additional points: Méry, more Classic than not, admired him (219) ; Auguste Comte not only called one of the Positivist months after him (220) but read his plays fluently (221) ; the tragedian Rouvière (who won recognition in the late 'forties) read only two writers, Shakespeare and Plato, but he read them time and time again (222) ; Murger, the eulogist of the Latin Quarter, had the complete set of Lefournier's Shakespeare and he "s'en nourrissait régulièrement, et l'influence des "concetti" de certaines pièces devait être grande sur lui" (223) ; the witty Alfred Delvau says (224) that he often soulfully imagined the Shakespearean heroines as he was entertaining some heavy-eating girl of the town ; and P. de Saint-Victor (225), who had something of Shakespeare in his composition, could recite whole passages from the plays.

Yet very few references occur to the dramatists contemporary with Shakespeare : in the "Revue de Paris" of August-September 1830, Ph. Chasles had an article on them, with special

(215) "Le Correspondant", Feb. 1848, article on Dumas and Meurice's "Hamlet".

(216) "Ma Jeunesse", enlarged edition of 1888 ; see Book I, ch. 7, of "Années de bohème".

(217) Véron : "Mémoires d'un bourgeois".

(218) In his "Mémoires", XIV, 67.

(219) G. Claudin : "Méry. Sa vie intime", 1867.

(220) See passim : "Correspondance inédite de Comte", 4 voll., 1903-1904.

(221) "Lettres d'Auguste Comte à Henri Dix Hutton", 1890, letter of Dec. 1853.

(222) J. Levallois : "Milieu de siècle. Mémoires", 1896.

(223) Champfleury : "Souvenirs et portraits de jeunesse", 1872.

(224) In "Histoire anecdotique des cafés et cabarets de Paris", 1862.

(225) G. Claudin : "Mes Souvenirs", 1884.

attention to Webster ; Paul Foucher, when he came to write "Entre cour et jardin" (1867), touched on them lightly.

Milton enjoyed a lasting and sometimes reverent esteem ; he was admired, but little imitated. In 1823, Tissot wrote his long essay, "Poésie érotique", round Milton's treatment of the love-scenes between Adam and Eve, which he considers the poet to have handled with consummate skill and endowed with exquisite beauty ; of the wooing of Eve, he said : "Les plus riches descriptions d'Homère, les brillantes fictions de Platon pour récompenser la vertu, l'Elysée de Virgile embelli par l'âme de Fénelon,... n'approcheront jamais de cette création de Milton" (226). Charles de Sainte-Foi (227) relates that six years later he was brought into intimacy with a fellow-student by reading Milton, Dante and Schlegel. In 1831, Antoine de Latour (228) drew attention to Jay's excellent essay on Milton and especially to the thorough analysis, interspersed with translations, of "Comus", which had been little known in France. Scribe and Germain Delavigne's opera, "Robert-le-Diable" (music by Meyerbeer), had an opening scene that was (229) "une traduction grandiose de ce passage du deuxième chant du 'Paradis Perdu'... 'Les portes infernales reculant impétueusement...'". The difficult Sainte-Beuve had a deep regard for Milton's "chants deux fois divins" (230), and in 1837 La Morvonnais, whose work rather resembled the critic-poet's, pronounced on Crabbe's metric thus : "Pour notre goût, nous préférons de beaucoup l'allure forte et variée des vers sans rime du grand Milton" (231). In June and July 1838, Raymond de Véricour gave, at the Athénée Royal, twelve lectures (232) on Milton and Epic Poetry, and in the following year Riquier Aldée's historical novel "Milton" (233) came out to show how closely a French writer could identify himself with the poet ; several years later, La Morvonnais, in an article (234)

(226) "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", II, 17.

(227) See his "Souvenirs de jeunesse (1828-1835)", (ed. by C. La'rcille, 1911), Part I, ch. 2.

(228) "Revue encyclopédique", July 1831, article on Jay's "Œuvres littéraires".

(229) According to an unsigned review in the "Journal des Comédiens", 24th Nov. 1831.

(230) "Nouvelle correspondance", 15th July 1836, to J. J. Ampère.

(231) In "L'Université catholique" of 1837 ; this fact comes from E. Fleury's "Hippolyte de la Morvonnais".

(232) See "Le Temps" of 14th July 1838 for a favourable notice.

(233) "Le Siècle", 10th Aug. 1839.

(234) In the "Phalange" of 5th Oct. 1842 ; see Fleury's "La M".

for the "Phalange", cited him as an authority on divorce. Vitet, on being received into the Academy in March 1846, made an impressive allusion (235) to "les créations immortelles de Dante et de Milton", and, two years after, A. de Pontmartin (236) called the appearance of his poems "a glorious date in the history of literature": those two mentions indicate rather well the general attitude of the Romantics towards Milton (237).

But the English Restoration writers caused no stir; even Dryden was seldom mentioned. Swift (238) and Defoe, however, met with a fair share of popularity, the former mainly for "Gulliver's Travels", the latter for "Robinson Crusoe", their two most romantic works. In 1826 was staged Coraly's "Gulliver" (239), a pantomime in two tableaux; in 1827 Villemain's thirteenth lecture on Eighteenth-century Literature turned largely on Swift. In 1840, Gulliver reappeared (240) on the stage: "Tout le monde connaît les aventures curieuses et intéressantes de Gulliver, ce fameux voyageur dont l'histoire nous a tant amusés lorsque nous étions sur les bancs du collège. C'est dans cet ouvrage qu'on a puisé le sujet de la pièce qu'on vient de représenter" at the Gymnase Enfantin; this "féerie" was moved to another theatre and there it ran to two hundred performances. Six years later, Léon de Wailly issued his "Stella", which, offering a wonderful reconstruction of Swift's character, and making a "sad and lovely novel", was his finest fictional work (241). Then, of course, the brilliant Prevost-Paradol did a thesis on Swift; Villemain wrote to him: "Je vous demande la thèse latine sur Swift et je vous montrerai... une page latine assez curieuse de votre héros, bien spirituel et bien piquant écrivain, mais que je n'aime guère..." (242). Defoe had a very similar reputation. In 1825, with regard to F. d'A.'s revision of the translation of "Robinson Crusoe" (illustrated this time by Deveria), an anonymous critic (243) exclaimed: "... Quel livre a été accueilli

(235) See any leading daily of the time, e. g. "Le Siècle".

(236) In the "Revue dramatique" section of the "R. des Deux Mondes", 1st April 1848.

(237) For general account see J. M. Telleen's "Milton dans la litt. fr.", 1904.

(238) On whose influence in France in the 18th and early 19th century a monograph is due to appear in 1924.

(239) For a review, see "La Pandore", 10th May 1826; next fact, *ibidem*, 4th May 1827.

(240) As we learn by the "Gazette des Théâtres", 3rd Sept. 1840.

(241) See A. Barbier: "Souvenirs personnels" (1883), *sub finem*.

(242) See O. Gréard: "Prevost-Paradol", letter of 7th Sept. 1855.

(243) In "Annales de la littérature", XXI, 324.

avec plus d'enthousiasme ? quel livre a été plus souvent réimprimé ? quel livre enfin a compté plus de lecteurs ?" After an interval of ten years, a special edition (244) was issued : illustrated by the brothers Deveria, L. Boulanger, Isabey, and others, it contained introductory essays by Ph. Chasles, Ferdinand Denis, and Labouderie. In July 1840, Lamennais (245) communicated to a friend that he had just re-read "Crusoe" ; in November, "Captain Jack" began appearing in the "Revue Britannique". A few years later, "Robinson" was freely altered to make a one-act "vaudeville" (246). And Alphonse Daudet, as a wee boy, would leave this story only to re-act in play the adventures of his hero (247).

Richardson, however, lost ground : he had been most famous in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The warm-hearted, much-loved Hortense Allart de Méritens relates (248) that in 1825 she got angry with a friend because he didn't admire "Clarissa Harlowe". In 1831 a leading critic (249) enquired : "Qui lit Richardson aujourd'hui ?... Qui veut acheter au prix de trente volumes mortellement ennuyeux, la belle folie de Clémentine, les admirables lettres de Lovelace et la catastrophe sublime de Clarisse" ?... Bien peu de personnes, je le pense" ; having stated that Richardson sacrificed too much to the taste of his age, he declared that his character-drawing would always endure. Not many years after, the keen-minded Doudan (250), on reading "Clarissa" in English, wrote to a friend saying that he asked the author's pardon for his previous opinion, as the denouement was pathetic, splendid : the translators, taking the strangest liberties with the heroine, had cut out the saddest parts on the ground that they didn't suit French tastes. But Amédée Achard (251) defined Richardson's position in France in 1846 when he remarked that this, his most celebrated novel, was like those Oriental gods that one adored, without knowing much about them.

(244) See the "Journal des Sçavants", May 1835.

(245) "Correspondance entre L. et le baron de Vitrolles" (1886), letter of 21st July 1840.

(246) By Duvert and Lauzanne : see the "Gazette des Théâtres", 2nd Nov. 1845.

(247) E. Daudet : "Mon Frère et moi", 1882.

(248) "Les Enchantements", 1872.

(249) Cs. in the "Journal des Débats", 2nd Sept. 1831.

(250) See his "Lettres", enlarged ed. of 1879, Vol. I, at date 24th June 1838).

(251) "L'Époque", 13th April, 1846.

On the other hand, Fielding, little read in France in the eighteenth century, came into his own early in the Romantic period and more than kept his place later on. Mary Lafon (252) (born 1810) tells us that as a boy he enjoyed "Tom Jones", "ce ravissant chef-d'œuvre", more than any other book, and that as an old man he read it with much the same interest and pleasure. In 1823 was played Ed. Menechet's (253) one-act comedy in verse, "Fielding", and the historian Bodin went so far as state (254) that the English novelist depicted the movement of human life with as much gaiety as, and more art than, Lesage. Even more daring, an anonymous writer (255) not long after declared that "Tom Jones" would still be read when novels like "Clarissa" and "La Nouvelle Héloïse", along with many other love-stories, were quite forgotten. In 1828 (256), the sparkling "Corsaire" had an article on Fielding. Two years later, the Théâtre-Français staged "Tom Jones", which Cuvillier-Fleury described (257) as an "assez mauvais pastiche qui ne donne pas l'idée de l'excellent livre de Fielding". In 1831, the influential Cs. (258) penned the following thorough-going encomium of that novel: "La fable de Fielding se déroule, se complique, s'enlace, se dénoue avec une admirable facilité. C'est incontestablement le modèle de toute fable romanesque, le tissu le plus habile et le plus fort qui ait jamais réuni dans une œuvre d'imagination, les développements du caractère et les jeux de la fortune... Tout le talent de l'auteur dramatique, toute la régularité de l'épopée, toute la finesse du critique supérieur, toute la puissance du philosophe, arrachant à l'hypocrisie son masque et rendant à la vertu réelle ses honneurs, ont concouru à cette œuvre unique, que tous les peuples civilisés ont placée entre deux merveilles, entre "Don Quichotte" et "Gil Blas" et que l'on nomme "Tom Jones". That other romantic realist, Stendhal (259), praised Fielding's truth to life.

Sterne and Goldsmith remained popular, though less imitated than they had been before 1800. A woman friend wrote in 1826

(252) "Cinquante ans de vie littéraire", 1882, near beginning.

(253) See "Le Constitutionnel", 11th Jan. 1823. Should not this name be rather spelt "Mennechet"?

(254) In "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", III, 573.

(255) "Le Courrier des Théâtres", 31st May 1827.

(256) 31st October.

(257) In his Journal, 21st April 1830 : see "J. et correspondance intimes de C. F.", 2 voll., 1900-1903.

(258) "Journal des Débats", 2nd Sept. 1831.

(259) "La Vie de Henri Brulard", beginning of Ch. IV.

to J. J. Coulmann, concerning his little book on Byron, that she was thereby reminded of "The Sentimental Journey", and she suggested that, as so many descriptive voyages of Italy had been produced, he should compose one in Sterne's manner (260). Victor Jacquemont (261) on his voyage to India had five literary books, one being "Tristram Shandy": "Mais 'Tristram Shandy' est une pièce de résistance. J'aime infiniment Sterne", who gave him "food for thought". That Sterne still charmed in the late forties may be perceived from two facts: Louis Lurine, a now-forgotten dramatist and critic, "trouva moyen de faire en 1850, au milieu des ennuis les plus noirs, une charmante divagation à la manière de Sterne et de Xavier de Maistre, c'est-à-dire: "Le treizième arrondissement de Paris" (262); A. Delvau concluded his sprightly "Au Bord de la Bièvre" (263) with an "Envoi à l'oncle Tobie"; beginning: "Vous êtes le héros de prédilection de mon esprit — et surtout de mon cœur", and ending: "Je vous vénère et je vous aime...". Goldsmith occupied a less important position. In 1823, however, he was noticed thus: "Goldsmith, a great moralist and an amusing "miscellanist", was also a sublime poet, a very attractive novelist,—in short a model of purity, elegance and concision in his writings" (264). In the "Université catholique" of 1837, H. de la Morvonnais gave it as his opinion that the English Lake Poetry dated from the "Deserted Village".

A very different writer, Anne Radcliffe was most popular in France during the score years starting about 1795, but she did not fall into such utter neglect during the Romantic period as one has commonly supposed. Either in December 1819 or in the following January, a new edition was published of the translation of four of her novels; it was well received by the press (265). Some ten years later, Cs. (rather "difficult" towards minor literature) asked his readers: "L'invention sombre de mistriss Radcliff, où est-elle? On n'en veut plus chez la portière" (266). About this

(260) J. J. Coulmann: "Réminiscences", II, ch. 14.

(261) See his "Correspondance" (2 voll., 1833), I, letter of 10th Dec. 1828.

(262) Phil. Audebrand: "Souvenirs de la tribune des journalistes (1848-1852)", 1867.

(263) "Au Bord de la Bièvre. Impressions et souvenirs", 1854.

(264) Translated from "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", III, 573, Bodin's critique.

(265) See e. g. "La Quotidienne", 13th Jan. 1820, whence comes the bibliographical information. For general information on Anne Radcliffe's influence in France, see A. M. Killen's "Le Roman terrifiant" et son influence sur la littérature française jusqu'en 1840", 1915.

(266) "Journal des Débats", 2nd Sept. 1831.

time, the great humorist, Henri Monnier (267), saw "Montoni" or "Les Mystères d'Udolphe" revived at the Théâtre Doyen ; in 1840, a farce entitled "Les Mystères d'Udolphe" was played at the Folies-Dramatiques, where it thoroughly amused the spectators (268). Her contemporary, Lewis had also seen his best days. In 1831, Fontan closely imitated him in a five-act melodrama, "Le Moine", which was greatly inferior to the original (269) ; but it was justly said that "ce roman est tombé aujourd'hui aux mains des couturières et des femmes de chambre, qui frémissent encore des contes de voleurs et de revenants" (270). Godwin stood the test of time : little known at the beginning of the century (despite Laya's adaptation of "Caleb Williams" as "Falkland"), he pleased the Romantics. In 1827, an anonymous reviewer (271) spoke of "Caleb" as "sparkling with genius" and added that, decidedly out of the common, it was not yet sufficiently appreciated ; three years later, Mme Swanton-Belloc (272) found in that novel, as in "Cloudesley", penetrating analysis, powerful style, daring theories, subtle skill in laying open the conscience of men, but remarked that, in reading, one was wearied and pained by a study carried too far ; and in 1833, Laya's "Falkland" being revived at the Porte-Saint-Martin, a prominent critic (273) reminded his readers that Loève-Weimars had shown how the theme lost by being thus exaggerated and misunderstood.

Coming to the English poets of the eighteenth century. Pope, though his influence was far from Romantic, calls for some brief attention. In 1821 he was declared (274) the most illustrious poet of England ; in 1837, H. de la Morvonnais (275) had in the "Université catholique" a good paragraph on his metric ; thirty years later, Sainte-Beuve (276) wrote : "Je suis resté, malgré tout, de l'école classique, de celle d'Horace, du chantre de la forêt de Windsor...". Thomson had practically ceased to influence French writers on the death of the Descriptive School

(267) His "Mémoires de M. Joseph Prudhomme" (2 voll., 1857), II, ch. 5.

(268) "Gazette des Théâtres", 11th June 1840.

(269) "Revue encyclopédique", May 1831, Ballard's review of the play.

(270) "Le Constitutionnel", 30th May 1831.

(271) In "La Pandore", 14th June 1827.

(272) "Revue encyclopédique", April 1830, review of "Cloudesley".

(273) *Ibidem*, H. Fortoul in the "bulletin dramatique", July-August 1833.

(274) "Annales de la littérature", III, 323.

(275) See Fleury, *op. cit.*

(276) "Nouvelle Correspondance", letter of 29th March 1867. He thought differently in the 'twenties.

(Lambert, Roucher, Delille), and references to him were few and short during the Romantic period. Young retained much of his popularity. In 1824 one might have read the words (277) : "On assure que M. Castil-Blaze s'occupe d'arranger les "Nuits d'Young" en opéra-comique...". After his daughter's death in the late 'twenties, the sentimental J. N. Bouilly (278) passed sombre nights with Young. In 1832, Bourgeois and Masson produced a melodrama, "Atar Gull", which they said was drawn from Sue's novel of that name : a dramatic critic confronted them with the analysis of part of Young's "Vengeance" (a tragedy), and asked his readers to read it and see if the collaborators had not copied their play from it (279). The next year, Capo de Feuillide, in his article (280) against George Sand's "Lélia", cited the "Night Thoughts" as a work exemplifying the "savoir faire de l'école "mélancolique" ou plutôt de l'école "égoïste". In 1838 or 1839, J. A. Paccard, the actor, wrote : "Young !... qu'il est intéressant, ce ministre anglican, de quelle exquise sensibilité son âme était douée !... Young, au milieu des nuits silencieuses..., errant parmi les tombeaux..., composant son poème élégiaque, Young était en ce moment plus qu'un homme, plus qu'un écrivain ; c'était, nous osons le proclamer, un *génie inspiré*, et l'égal alors des Shakespeare, des Newton et des Pope" (281). In 1843 the "Nuits" were published along with Hervey's "Tombeaux", preceded by P. Christian's "Essai sur le Jobisme" (282). While Collins, whose verse also bore the imprint of melancholy, attracted very little attention among the Romantics, Gray, who produced the best of the elegiac poems of the eighteenth century, was quietly appreciated and admired. "Si connu en France par sa touchante *élégie*" (282), he was thus treated by Poujoulat (284) in 1837 : "L'impartiale critique trouve dans les poésies de Gray des traits ingénieux, de la grâce, quelquefois de la force, toujours de l'harmonie et beaucoup de sensibilité, mais il y a encore loin de là à un grand génie".

(277) In "La Pandore", 12th June 1824.

(278) As he tells us in vol. III of his "Récapitulations".

(279) "Journal des Comédiens : Gazette des théâtres", near the end of April 1832.

(280) "L'Europe littéraire" of the 22nd Aug. 1833. Michaut quotes this passage in his "Senancour", 1909.

(281) J. A. Paccard : "Mémoires et confessions", 1839, in the "notes et anecdotes" at the end of the book.

(282) "Le Constitutionnel", 13th July 1843, advertisement.

(283) Chasles in "J. des Débats", 18th Oct. 1837.

(284) "La Quotidienne", 25th Aug. 1837.

Ossian no longer had the renown accorded him during the First Empire, but he still drew numerous references from the journalists and memoirists. Mme Elizabeth Celnart, in her article "De l'Eclectisme en littérature" (285), claimed that Ossianic melancholy was an "ingredient" of French Romanticism in 1822. In 1826 we run across this significant side-light (286): "... aujourd'hui que nos bardes ne mettent plus de poudre à leurs cheveux, et se coiffent poétiquement à la manière d'Ossian et de Fin-gal". Four years later, Mme Louise Swanton-Belloc (287), always a keen observer of English literature, said that one should read Ossian in the original language, rich and poetical (288), so as not to miss his peculiar atmosphere. He was carefully read by Renan (before he began his Celtic studies proper), who (289) included him among "poets truly inspired and swept away by an ideal".

Like the author of "Ossian", Chatterton resorted to literary subterfuge, which does not seem to have damaged his reputation in France. In 1839, the translation of his Works occasioned not only the following passage (290): "Le nom de Chatterton a naguère servi de thème à une espèce de drame dans lequel M. Alfred de Vigny se posait comme l'avocat des poètes malheureux... Cette bizarre composition... a... attiré l'attention publique sur le poète anglais... Chatterton fut un génie extraordinaire... Tout ce qu'il a laissé porte une empreinte originale, énergique, qui dénote à la fois la richesse de la pensée et celle de l'expression", but also a notable article from Chasles, who was at this time considered the best critic on English literature. Renan (291), about seven years later, entered into a note-book his opinion that Chatterton was the type of those young men of would-be genius who, for lack of a monetary allowance sufficient to afford them scope to think their sublime thoughts, fulminate against society. Beattie, also affected by Mediaevalism, had a niche, a very small niche,

(285) "La France littéraire", June 1832.

(286) "Le Constitutionnel", 24th Feb. 1826.

(287) "Revue encyclopédique", Oct. 1830, re "The Poems of Ossian".

(288) Mainnemare in "Les Indiscrétions d'un bourgeois de Paris... documents inédits", 1923, describes Janin's famous article on Rachel (in the "Journal des Débats", late in 1838) as "ce panégyrique... outré, en style presque Ossianique", see p. 37, the reference coming in a letter written a few months later.

(289) In "Cahiers de Jeunesse" (1906), 3rd cahier, sec. 28.

(290) "Revue critique des livres nouveaux", April 1839.

(291) See his "Cahiers de jeunesse", near end.

in the temple of Romanticism, which saw the translation of "The Minstrel" reprinted. That poem was, in 1821, described, very sympathetically analysed, and copiously quoted by the "Annales de la littérature" (292) by S...e (almost certainly J. B. A. Soulié, the librarian), who said that Beattie had left other poems, distinguished by a profound melancholy.

Three poets of great sincerity and a deep regard for Nature, Cowper, Burns and Crabbe, had been little known in France before 1820; the first and the third remained rather neglected for perhaps a decade longer. Cowper attracted the least attention. In 1826, "Le Globe" (293) had an article, with translations of his poetry; H. de la Morvonnais (294) in 1837 refused to Cowper and his "méditations fortes et austères" the honour of originating the Lake School; Philarète Chasles (295) as good as contradicted him shortly after, said that "le talent de Cowper appartenait à un ordre rare, délicat, infiniment distingué", and remarked that "ce poète, très peu connu en France, mériterait de l'être davantage"; Sainte-Beuve (296) esteemed his poetry and, curiously enough, was familiar with the hymns. Burns aroused much interest and steadily increased in fame, but, naturally, he was little imitated. In March 1821, "Le Miroir" (297) admitted gladly to its pages the translations of three short poems, one of which the editor, in a footnote, recommended to musicians; five years after, "Le Corsaire" (298) drew special notice to "Tam o'Shanter" with its originality and called its author "poète laboureur". Between those two references came two others of some importance: in 1825, "Le Globe" (299) offered an article on Burns by E. D., who gave with it several brief translations, and "La Pandore" (300) contained two accounts, both anonymous, the second worthy of quotation: "On parle beaucoup dans les salons d'un génie inconnu jusqu'ici en France... Mme Swanton-Belloc, dans son excellent ouvrage sur Byron, a tracé avec son talent habituel le caractère

(292) III, 339-349, 434-442, and 466-473.

(293) 12th Jan. 1826, by E. D.

(294) In the "Université catholique" of 1837: see Fleury, op. cit.

(295) "Journal des Débats", 4th Feb. 1838.

(296) L. Séché: "Sainte-Beuve" (2 voll., 1904), Ondine Valmore's letter to S.-B. in 1845 or 6.

(297) On 9th, 16th, 21st March 1821; two in prose, the other in verse by de Coupigny.

(298) 13th Jan. 1826.

(299) 28th Oct. 1825

(300) 28th Jan. and 22nd Aug. 1825.

de Robert Burns. "Le Miroir"... a traduit en 1821 plusieurs morceaux de ce poète, qui ont eu beaucoup de succès et produit plusieurs imitations plus ou moins heureuses. Enfin M. Pichot, dans son voyage en Angleterre, a achevé d'éveiller l'attention sur cet original écrivain". Léon Halévy (301) in his "Poesies européennes" gave a version of "The Cottar's Saturday Night". In 1831, Mme Swanton-Belloc praised (302) Burns as "the most delightful of instinctive poets", and, not long after, Bouzenot (303) described him as the type of inspired poet, who deeply feels and with great energy expresses the emotions of the soul; the critic added that one finds nowhere a touch more vigorous than that of Burns. In 1843 Léon de Wailly published his translation, of which, "a masterpiece", Auguste Barbier (304) said that it was impossible to give a better idea of the admirable poetry of the original. In the last year of our period, Champfleury (305) became acquainted with Burns's work, and he wrote long after that he had always loved this poet, "un trait d'union entre la poésie populaire et la poésie des villes". Not so picturesque a figure, Crabbe appealed to the French both as a moralist and as a narrative poet. In 1825 the "Mercure du XIX^e siècle" (306) spoke none too flatteringly of him through the person of V. A. (perhaps Année) and very favourably and sympathetically through de Barante. In May 1831 the "Revue de Paris" gave the story of "Peter Grimes", and in the introduction the anonymous translator said: "George Crabbe,... peu connu en France, jouit en Angleterre d'une réputation méritée. C'est peut-être de tous les poètes vivants le plus original"; three years later, the capable Bouzenot (307), reviewing his poetry at length, found his principal merit to be simplicity and candour and proclaimed him "le peintre par excellence de la vie domestique". II. de la Morvonnais's first article (308) to "l'Université catholique", dating 1837, dealt with Crabbe; a noteworthy contribution to the study of the poet in France, it insisted a little too much on his realism, not enough on the deep social pity that informs all his long poems.

(301) "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", (1828) XXII, 502.

(302) In the "Revue encyclopédique", March 1831.

(303) "La France littéraire", March 1834, article on Burns.

(304) "Souvenirs personnels".

(305) See J. Adeline: "Quelques souvenirs sur Champfleury" (1902), C.'s letter of 6th Aug. 1874.

(306) X, 412 and XI, 223-224.

(307) "La France littéraire", April 1834.

(308) Fleury, op. cit.

A decade had passed when Lacausade (309) published his long, sound, accurately informed and deeply appreciative article on the *Life and Works of George Crabbe*.

On the other hand, the eighteenth-century dramatists were more imitated than discussed. Goldsmith was, in this connection, very seldom mentioned; Rowe came into the lime-light in 1824, because Lemercier and Liadières then brought out almost simultaneously their free adaptations of "*Jane Shore*", stood prominently in the public eye in 1827-1828 on account of Miss Smithson's wonderful acting of the titular rôle of the original play, and afterwards fell into neglect; Sheridan cropped up pretty frequently. In 1824, to meet the keen demand for information, somebody translated literally the "*Jane Shore*" of Rowe, whose *Life* formed the introduction (310), and a woman with the shrewd eye for the sentimental chance produced a novel named after the heroine. Sheridan met with a less striking but more enduring success; or rather, he continued to enjoy under the Romantics the esteem felt for him under the first Empire. Dumas (312) held him England's second greatest dramatist; in 1827 "*Le Globe*" asserted that "*The School for Scandal*" was often translated and imitated, and that it was read by all who were beginning to learn English (313); at the end of our period, the sparkling Roger de Beauvoir (314) referred to him as "*ce brillant Sheridan*".

The eighteenth-century historians (Hume, Robertson, Gibbon) still compelled much respect, some admiration (315), and very little imitation: they belonged too definitely to their age to arouse much enthusiasm among the Romantics, who were drawn away from these writers by one more vivid, more atune with their aspirations.

More interesting is the reception extended to the mainly or wholly nineteenth-century poets, in whom the Romantics took—when we consider that they were contemporaries—a very credi-

(309) "*La Revue nouvelle*", May 1847.

(310) "*Annales de la littérature*", XV, 159.

(311) Mme Marie d'Heures; in March 1824, "*La Pandore*" gives on the 23rd a review, on the 28th a summary. This novel came out while the plays were still in rehearsal and being surmised about in the salons.

(312) "*Souvenirs de 1830 à 1842*" (8 voll., 1854-1856), tome III.

(313) "*Le Globe*", 6th Oct. 1827.

(314) In the Introduction to "*Mémoires de Mademoiselle Mars*", 2 voll., 1849.

(315) See e. g. L. Séché: "*Hortense Allart de Méritens*" (1908), p. 229, on theme; cf. her letters of 1842-1843 in her "*Lettres inédites à Sainte-Beuve*", ed. by L. Séché, 1908.

table interest, and for one of whom they felt an enduring fascination. Rogers and Campbell (316) were treated (the few times it fell to their lot) with a quiet esteem: Southey excited a good deal of attention and admiration. In 1820 appeared (317) a prose translation of "Bishop Bruno"; early the next year, one (318) of "Lord William". The "Quotidienne" (319) said, with respect to Bruguère de Sorsum's version of "Roderick", that of all the poetic narratives written by Scott, Byron, Moore and Southey, none might better claim to be translated, and that this poem, uniting the interest of a novel and the sublimity of an epic, had been most tastefully and felicitously rendered. A few months later, the announcement of further translations of Southey moved a critic to exclaim (320): "Tant mieux ! Nous connaissons plus tôt le poète anglais, que pour ma part je préfère déjà à lord Byron et même à Walter Scott". In 1825 "Le Globe" (321) advanced the view that the general curiosity prevalent as to the poet laureate derived from Byron's epigrams, and, after a lapse of three years, published on Southey in general and "Roderick" in particular a long letter, in which some anonymous but evidently well-informed person regretted that he should still be little known in France: in May 1829, the "Revue de Paris" (322) contained a long section, written by Pichot, à propos of "All for Love; the Pilgrim to Compostella": a year later, the "Mercure de France au dix-neuvième siècle" offered a lengthy translation from "Thalaba": by 1839 Southey's critiques had penetrated to France (323): three years after, Sainte-Beuve (324) quoted to Arsène Houssaye a short passage from "une jolie et même une belle pièce du poète anglais Southey".

Less fluent, more contemplative, Wordsworth caused a quiet interest and exercised a certain appreciable influence. It has

(316) "La Quotidienne", 2nd June 1822 (Campbell only).

(317) In "Annales de la littérature", I, 222-224.

(318) *Ibidem*, II, 68-71.

(319) 2nd Jan. 1821.

(320) In the "Minerve littéraire", II, at the end of Saint-Martin's review of the chevalier A.'s translation of "Roderick".

(321) 8th Sept. 1825. The letter appeared in the issue of 23rd April 1828.

(322) Vol. II, "bulletin bibliographique".

(323) As we see by Alexis Forel's letter of 11th Sept. 1839 to Vinet: in vol II of "Lettres de Vinet", 2 voll., 1882.

(324) His "Nouvelle Correspondance", letter of 14th Jan. 1842.

been shown (325) that he affected Sainte-Beuve and, still more, H. de la Morvonnais : those two writers reproduced something of his treatment of domestic themes and of his simplified, direct vocabulary. Internal evidence would probably show that he also considerably influenced a pair of gentle minor poets—Saulnier and Turquety. That he must have been fairly well known in 1822 appears from a bibliographical note (326) : “M. Wordsworth est sur le point de publier à Londres deux ouvrages intitulés “Souvenirs d’un voyage sur le Continent” et “Esquisses ecclésiastiques” : Up till about 1825, as the author of “L’influence des lakistes sur les romantiques français” has pointed out, Wordsworth was regarded as “rather poor stuff”, just because Byron (327) had bitterly criticised “The Idiot Boy” ; Pichot’s “Voyage” helped to remove that prejudice (328). In 1829 the “Mercure du XIX^e siècle” (329) discussed and gave examples from “We are seven” as translated by Fontaney in “Ballades, mélodies, et poésies diverses” (which appeared very early that year), and also published a short notice on Wordsworth and a prose version of “The Idiot Boy”, the translator observing that “de tous les contemporains de lord Byron et de Water Scott, sur lesquels M. Pichot a essayé d’éveiller la curiosité de ses lecteurs, William Wordsworth est peut-être celui qui sera le plus difficile de naturaliser en France” and stressing the poet’s dignity, sentimentally-stern morality, powers of description, and fondness for familiar subjects. The “Journal des Débats” (330) of 1832 contained an article on “The Excursion” ; the writer notably implied Wordsworth’s “succès d’estime” in France. François de la Morvonnais, his brother having published an article on the Lake Poets, said : “Wordsworth... est très estimé aux Iles et sur le continent” (331). But little read. In 1838, Duquesnel apostrophised the poet thus (332) : “Ton jour s’est levé, [l’Angleterre] t’admire ; la France sait ton nom et parle de toi sans te connaître ; mais elle te

(325) See especially M. A. Smith: “L’Influence des lakistes sur les romantiques français” (1920), which owes much to Fleury’s “Hippolyte de la Morvonnais”.

(326) In “Le Miroir”, 24th Feb. 1822. This fact is rather at variance with one of Mr. Smith’s statements.

(327) This fact, mentioned by Fleury, had been noted by Duquesnel in “La Vigie de l’Ouest”, 25th Sept. 1838 (see Fleury).

(328) As Mr. Smith has clearly proved.

(329) XXIV, 36-37. Next reference comes from XXVII, 572.

(330) 3rd Nov. 1832. reviewed by G. P.

(331) Fleury, *op cit.*; letter of 9th May 1834.

(332) *Ibidem*; Duquesnel’s article in “La Vigie de l’Ouest”, 25th Sept.

connaîtra bientôt". Wordsworth steadily increased in fame, which, however, did not become of the noisy or brilliant kind. We may note that Philarète Chasles (333) thought him a greater poet than Coleridge and Southey.

Though Wordsworth was accorded the higher rank, Coleridge was paid more attention by Chasles. It is certain that the author of "The Ancient Mariner" exercised very little obvious influence on the French Romantics, but the references point to the possibility of his having been of noteworthy importance "off stage". According to Gustave Planche (334), he was unknown in France up till about 1820. In 1821, however, Philarète Chasles (335) mentioned him as having sacrificed to the school of nature poetry "les facultés brillantes d'une imagination forte et originale". Seven years later, one H. H. (336), in a brief, judicious notice on the Poetical Works, wrote as follows: "Coleridge, quoique très peu connu en France (337), jouit en Angleterre d'une réputation distinguée... Moins profond que Wordsworth, Coleridge a dans sa poésie plus de force, plus de nerf, peut-être plus de brillant que son rival". In 1831, Planche described the "Ballade of the Ancient Mariner" as "magnificent"; in 1834 "La France littéraire" (339) gave an interesting and most appreciative criticism on Coleridge; four years after, La Morvonnais (340) contributed to the "Université catholique" a study on the poet (whom he liked less than he did Wordsworth), with a translation of several short pieces; and in a literary review (341) of 1841, Lacaussade had a long and favourable article, soon followed by his prose translation of the famous Ballad. So that authoritative critics and leading periodicals evidently held Coleridge in high esteem: can we doubt that the French Romantic poets did likewise?

Landon arrived late in France, where he is still far too little known; curious, because he strikes one as the kind of writer

(333) See e. g. his "Mémoires".

(334) "Revue des Deux Mondes", Dec. 1831.

(335) "Revue encyclopédique", March 1821, Essay on English poetry, p. 447.

(336) *Ibidem*. Dec. 1828, pp. 666-667.

(337) He had, of course, been mentioned by Pichot in the "Voyage".

(338) "R. des Deux Mondes", Dec. 1831.

(339) October; in the notice on English reviews.

(340) See Fleury, *op cit*.

(341) "La France littéraire", mid-1841, the two items coming in consecutive livraisons.

that would appeal. The "Revue Britannique" (342) for 1831 translated, on different occasions, two extracts from his "Conversations", and in the introductory footnote to the earlier figured the remark that he was one of the most original of English writers. That review certainly attempted to vulgarise his work, for it gave two more extracts (343) and alluded noteworthy (344) to him at least three times before 1848. Philarète Chasles once more displayed his perspicacity when he spoke (345) of Landor as an "excellent écrivain, auquel on rend enfin justice, le premier prosateur de l'Angleterre moderne, en comptant Walter Scott... et Macaulay". Nor must we forget that, long before, the observant "Globe" had assigned a bibliographical notice to the "Conversations" and had recorded that "cet ouvrage, brillant d'imagination, ne se distingue point par l'impartialité" (346).

Very inferior to Landor, Moore (347) yet compelled far more interest, admiration, and imitation. In 1820, B. S. (undoubtedly Bruguière de Sorsum) analysed "Lalla Rookh" in general (348) and "Paradise and the Peri" in particular (with prose translation of a few short passages); three years later, A. Jay (349) permitted himself a nine-page article on "The Loves of the Angels" as rendered by Mme Swanton-Belloc, and passed a very favourable opinion on Moore himself and on this poem, as for instance: "Doué d'une imagination brillante, d'un esprit élevé, d'une sensibilité exquise, il excelle également à peindre les passions douces, l'exaltation du cœur et les inspirations du patriotisme". Hector Berlioz (350) says that, on discovering Moore's poetry about 1825, he was more than delighted; in fact he had "l'imagination ravie des splendides images". A little after this, "La Pandore" (351) regaled its readers with a longish notice on "Thomas Moore, poète national", which began: "Si jamais écrivain a mérité les palmes du patriotisme, Thomas Moore doit en orner son front".

(342) July and December 1831; the reference comes on p. 61.

(343) April 1832 and December 1846.

(344) 1846: February, pp. 502-503; April, pp. 497-498; July, p. 227.

(345) In the "Journal des Débats", 27th July 1847.

(346) "Le Globe", 20th Nov. 1824.

(347) For early details, see A. B. Thomas: "Moore en France... (1819-1830)", 1911.

(348) "Le Lycée français", III, 319 ff; and for "The Peri", III, 363 ff., 409 ff.

(349) "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1823, I, 441 ff.

(350) "Mémoires", vol. I. Next reference to Berlioz also comes from this book.

(351) For these two facts, see his "Correspondance", letters of 10th Dec 1826 and 16th May 1831.

Indicative of his fame in France is the fact that on a long sea voyage Victor Jacquemont (352) included "Lalla Roohk" among the few literary works that he carried ; but later, when he came to read him, he vigorously expressed his very adverse opinion of it. In 1829 an anonymous reviewer stated that Moore, though not so famous as Byron and Scott, needed no introduction to the French public (353). An interesting side-light is this : "Je crus", says Berlioz of his adventures during the Revolution of 1830, "entendre sortir d'un groupe une mélodie à moi bien connue. Je m'approche et je reconnais que dix à douze jeunes gens chantaient en effet un hymne guerrier de ma composition, dont les paroles, traduites des "Irish Melodies" de Moore, se trouvaient par hasard tout à fait de circonstance ". People were not altogether lulled asleep by his brilliance, and several (354) noted that he loved display ; but they appreciated (355) his good qualities. His fame lasted well, as we see from such a passage as this written by the celebrated Rachel in 1851 : "Le pauvre Merle est mort ! Il n'y a pas là de quoi étonner autant qu'en Angleterre, où l'on vient de perdre Thomas Moore, l'ami de lord Byron (356)".

In contrast, Bloomfield, very little yet favourably noted, had probably no influence on French Romanticism. His contemporary, Kirke White, was ranked higher by the French than by the English during this period : his hardships and early death rendered him attractive in the eyes of the Romantics. "Le Globe (357)" bestowed an article by E. D. in 1825, and several years later the "Mercure du xix^e siècle" (358) granted him a eulogistic paragraph. Several critics have found that Sainte-Beuve owed a little to Kirke White, but the supposed debtor has said nothing about it either in his letters or in his memorandum-books.

Very different were the fame and influence of Byron (359) in France, where he was for years regarded as the greatest English

(352) For these two facts, see his "Correspondance", letters of 10th Dec. 1828 and 16th May 1881

(353) "Revue française", Dec. 1829, in the "revue sommaire".

(354) E. g. J. de Francheville in article "Du Panthéisme chez M. Lamartine" in the "France littéraire", of June 1838.

(355) E. g. R. S. has a 40 — page article on M. in the "R. des D. Mondes", 1843, II.

(356) G. d'Heylli: "Rachel d'après sa correspondance", 1882, letter of 5th March 1851.

(357) 11th Oct. 1825.

(358) 1828, XXIII, 540.

(359) See, chiefly for internal evidence, the excellent book by Estève: "Byron et le Romantisme français", 1907.

poet. An aristocrat, a traveller, an exile of adventurous and mysterious habits, he was in himself a figure apt to delight the imagination, and in his poetry he bodied forth his life. His early significance to French Romanticism has been well told by De-
 lécluze (360), who spoke as a contemporary. "The audacity and the capricious form of Lord Byron's poetry made their success at the beginning less rapid than that of Scott's novels ; but once the first astonishment caused by his ideas and style was past, the verses of the young English bard became the object of fanatic admiration on the part of the literary youth of France.... Byron, by admitting every variety of form in his poetry, facilitated the propagation of his indifference in the matter of taste, his moral scepticism and the contempt with which his indomitable pride inspired him for humanity.... About 1819, his writings upset all the ideas of the younger generation in France. "Werther" and "René", indeed, had already made fashionable the malaise and weariness caused by purposeless passion ; but "Lara", "Child-Harold", "Manfred" and above all "Don Juan" suddenly and violently precipitated the new generation into the chaos of all kinds of scepticism, inspired it with scorn for every institution, and plunged it into the imaginary sorrows that — to imitate the English poet—one strove hard and managed to express in an ironic tone". A luminous commentary on this attitude comes from the respectable and respected Mme de Rémusat's statement (361) that, were she young and beautiful, she would try, despite the cost, to render Byron happy and virtuous. In 1820 "Le Constitutionnel" published the following note : "Without adopting the enthusiasm of the partisans of what one calls Romantic literature, we must admit that the English poet, endowed with a brilliant and fruitful imagination, has written things of rare beauty..... It is then hardly surprising that the translation of his work has obtained a great success among us (362)". When Chastopalli's version appeared, a reviewer cried : (363) "Cœurs sensibles ! âmes de feu ! vous qui ne considérez l'existence que comme... une planche dont les deux extrémités reposent, l'une sur le bord d'un berceau, l'autre sur celui d'une tombe, hâtez-vous de saisir

(360) In his extremely valuable "Souvenirs de soixante ans".

(361) "Correspondance de M. de Rémusat" (6. voll., 1883-1886), Madame's letter of 11th Nov. 1819.

(362) "Le Constitutionnel", 28th April 1820.

(363) In "Le Journal des théâtres", 11 Sept. 1820.

les œuvres de lord Byron". This translation and others keenly delighted the Romantics (364). A grave and weighty review, which rarely contained articles on foreign literature, said that it felt bound, seeing Byron's fame in both England and France, to deal with the work : Vanderbourg (365) treated it with courtesy and at times with ill-hidden admiration. Most significant, this pressure of public opinion. Just as noteworthy in its way was Victor Hugo's obituary notice on the English poet : "Ce n'est pas sans quelque effroi que nous avons accepté la tâche honorable, mais pénible, de rendre ici un public hommage à la mémoire de lord Byron (366)". Armand de Pontmartin tells us that one of his friends was like a hero of the kind dreamt of by the fair readers of Byron and Lamartine (367). Medwin's "Conversations of Lord Byron" was twice translated within a few months (368) ; before this, Roch composed a fifth "Hellénide", the "Poème dithyrambique sur la Mort de lord Byron (369)" ; and at the end of 1824 came Damas Hinard's "Chants sur lord Byron (370)". Early in the next year, Mme Louise Swanton-Belloc issued her able and sympathetic book, "Lord Byron (371)", and Mme Lamartine entered in a journal her hesitation to tell her son of his death, which she feared would cause him deep grief (372) ; moreover, the satirical Privat d'Anglemonit included in his youthful "Odes" a poem entitled "La Mort de Lord Byron (373)". That event, viewed in France as a public calamity (374), gave rise to scores of funeral odes : "Nos poètes n'ont pas été heureux en célébrant [Byron] : des odes, des dithyrambes, des poèmes qu'il a inspirés, aucun ne restera comme monument digne du chantre de "Lara" et du défenseur de la Grèce", wrote a critic (375) that included in his stricture both Delavigne's "Messénienne" and Guiraud's "Chant hellène" on the

(364) "Le Constitutionnel", 13th Jan. 1821, beginning of article, "Littérature romantique".

(365) In the "Journal des Savants", June 1821.

(366) "La Muse française", June 1824, essay on Byron.

(367) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", 4th series.

(368) "Le Globe", 9th Nov. 1824.

(369) "La Pandore" 29th May and 1st June 1824.

(370) *Ibidem*, 20th Dec. 1824.

(371) For a sane notice, see "Le Globe", 3rd Feb. 1825; by C. R. (Rémusat, very likely).

(372) "Le Manuscrit de ma mère" (1871), entry of 4th Jan. 1825.

(373) "La Pandore", 15th March 1825.

(374) See especially Dumas : "Mémoires", IX, 184-192.

(375) "Le Globe", 12th Oct. 1824.

subject ; "Les innombrables élégies, les chants funèbres et toutes les stances banales consacrées à la mémoire [de Byron] ne nous avaient rien appris ni sur le poète ni sur ses ouvrages", remarked another reviewer (376). Referring to the years 1824-1826, Privat d'Anglemont (377) caustically observed : "C'était le temps des Hellènes... Tout le monde voulait, à l'exemple de Byron, aller mourir dans quelque Missolonghi ; mais on n'avait garde de partir". Looking at things more broadly, Paul Huet (the painter) said of these first years of Byron's influence : "Lorsque le vrai romantisme vint, c'est-à-dire lorsque la métaphysique de Byron pénétra les imaginations, la révolution était faite (378)". Concerning 1827, A. de Pontmartin (379) records that romantic and poetic young women preferred the poet to Walter Scott. But Byron attracted men almost as much as women. Charles Dovalle (380), for instance, worshipped him ; and A. de Pontmartin (381) alluded to both sexes when he said that in 1828 Byron was in "tout l'éclat de sa gloire". A more concrete idea of his renown may be gained from such a fact as this : the young Amaury Duval was greatly interested when he saw a former servant to the poet (382). Byron was by one writer (383) declared to have, along with Lamartine, turned the heads of at least a quarter of the women at this time, while another (384) more comprehensively stated of the approximate period 1824-1830 that "l'ombre de lord Byron tournait la tête à l'Europe littéraire". According to the inevitable (because so helpful) Armand de Pontmartin (385), Don Juan and Faust, as types, "ont dominé l'école de 1830" : "Lord Byron et Hoffmann donnèrent le branle ; puis Alfred de Musset ; puis nous tous". Dumas (386) corroborates this view in saying of the year 1831 that the only admissible gaiety was satanic, the gaiety of Mephistopheles and Man-

(376) "Le Constitutionnel", 19th Jan. 1825.

(377) "Paris anecdote", 1854.

(378) "Paul Huet..., ses notes, sa correspondance, ses contemporains" (1911), in the "Notes".

(379) In "Mes Mémoires. Seconde jeunesse" (1886), p. 2.

(380) R. N. Rimbault-d'Hauterive : "Charles Dovalle" (1913), see notes from the poet's cahier for 1827.

(381) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", IV.

(382) Amaury Duval : "Souvenirs (1829-1830)", 1885.

(383) Comtesse Dash : "Mémoires des autres" (6 voll., 1896-1898), II. 164.

(384) Phil. Audebrand : "Derniers jours de la bohème".

(385) "Seconde jeunesse", pp. 73-74.

(386) "Souvenirs de 1830 à 1842", III.

fred. "L'Avenir" called him one of the most original and striking historical figures of all the ages (387). But while Byron himself compelled admiration almost everywhere, his imitators often incurred pungently satirical articles, as for example that in which Cs (388) wrote : " Nous voyons des talents [littéraires] se déformer..... Tel se fait débauché poétique ; tel... veut être caustique ; tel autre, don Juan blasé, se traîne à la remorque de lord Byron. Cette race Byronienne est très nombreuse et très affligeante aujourd'hui. Byron s'est amusé à se faire fat. Le mélange était neuf ; le dandyisme enté sur le génie parut piquant, ils le surpassent..... Or, vous pouvez voir par les rues tous ces beaux paradoxes incarnés, plaidant, divaguant, caustiques, brillantés : c'est la postérité de lord Byron et sa race intellectuelle". In 1833 came in the "Revue européenne" a hint of waning splendour, but the critic anticipated somewhat (389). Byron's decline may be said to date from about 1836 ; it was a decline—not a fall by any means ! In 1834 Cogniard and Burat's "fait historique en un acte", entitled "Byron à l'école d'Harrow", obtained one of those successes that mark an epoch for a theatre (390) ; earlier in the year, Cuvillier-Fleury (391) affirmed (in his Journal) that Byron's scepticism had produced in France the literary frenzy of the day. Next year appeared the "Galerie des Dames de lord Byron" (notices and illustrations), to which Jules Janin (392) accorded an enthusiastic reception. In 1836, Edouard Magnien (393) brought out "Mortel, ange ou démon", in which, a serious study of Byron, he showed a lively intelligence, an impressionable and sensitive character, and a deep sympathy. Two years after, Mme de Girardin (394) (Delphine Gay that was) wrote to Lamartine : "Quand votre ange aura subi ses dix expiations, vous donnerez au poème général cette épigraphe, n'est-ce pas ? "L'homme est un dieu tombé qui se souvient des cieux". Pourquoi cet ange ne serait-il pas lord Byron ?". This picturesque opinion of Byron was prevalent. The young Romantics of about 1830-1838 divided themselves into two classes, the Bousingots

(387) "L'Avenir", 21st March 1831, article by P. D.

(388) "J. des Débats", 5th March 1832.

(389) "Revue européenne", May 1833, F. C's article on Byron.

(390) "Journal des comédiens", 19th Nov. 1834.

(391) In his "Journal et correspondance intimes", former at 14th March, 1834.

(392) "Journal des Débats", 28th Dec. 1835.

(393) "La Quotidienne", 14th Aug. 1836, review by Poujoulat.

(394) "Lettres à Lamartine" (1892), at 18th Aug. 1838.

and the Jeune France, both of whom seem (395) to have been strongly influenced by the Byronic tradition : "Les uns, les Jeune-France, se transformaient en "blasés", en "rêveurs", en "poitrinaires" ; ils étaient marqués du "sceau de la fatalité"..... Quant aux autres, ils avaient bien adopté aussi l'air intéressant, le visage pâle et les yeux sombres, surtout après les grands succès d' 'Antony' et d' 'Angèle' ". Less eccentric than these young men, Leconte de Lisle in 1839 planned a poem in which Byron was to be treated as one of four great writers (396). Nevertheless, the English poet still exercised a tremendous extra-literary influence in that year : "Sais-tu", communicated Flaubert (397) to a friend, "que la jeune génération des écoles est fièrement bête, autrefois elle avait plus d'esprit ; elle s'occupait de femmes, de coups d'épée, d'orgies ; maintenant elle se drape sur Byron, rêve de désespoir et se cadennasse le cœur à plaisir. C'est à qui aura le visage le plus pâle et dira le mieux "je suis blasé", blasé! quelle pitié! blasé à dix huit ans". Audebrand (398) tells us that in 1840 Byron's sacrilegious audacities still preoccupied France ; one of Fromentin's friends, on the contrary, found consolation in the poet just at this time (399). Mme Louise Fusil, when writing her "Souvenirs", quoted from Byron who ran counter to the school in which she had been trained (400). Several years later, the newspapers (401) noisily trumpeted the announcement of the supposed discovery of eight more cantos to "Don Juan". The "Don Juan" and "Corsair" type made Delacroix, who, like Byron, was mainly Classic in theory and thoroughly Romantic in practice, state (402) in 1844 that "ce genre faux a produit mille imitations malheureuses". Renan (403) thought him a prodigy, a wonder that lacked morality. Also as a young man, Murger

(395) According to Privat d'Anglemont: "Paris anecdote". (See also C. Lenient's article, "Le second cénacle; les Bousingots" ap. "Revue bleue", 1884, 1st semestre, pp. 464 et seq.).

(396) Leconte de Lisle: "Premières poésies et lettres intimes", 1902.

(397) "Correspondance", at 15th April 1839.

(398) "Derniers jours de la bohème".

(399) "Eugène Fromentin. Lettres de jeunesse" (ed. by P. Blanchon, 1909), letter of 29th Aug. 1840.

(400) Mme L. Fusil: "Souvenirs d'une actrice" (2 voll., 1841), I.

(401) See the "Revue de Paris", 4th week in May 1843, the "bulletin".

(402) This example of "Greek meeting Greek" occurs in the "Journal d'Eugène Delacroix" (3 voll., 1893), entry of 21st June 1844. Delacroix painted some Byronic themes.

(403) "Nouveaux cahiers de jeunesse, 1846" (1907), cah. VII, sec. 39 and 45, and VIII, 123.

once went shooting accoutred in "style byronien" (404) : this fashion had apparently lingered into the 'forties. Byronic "atmosphere" certainly had been, and was still far reaching ; Champfleury told his mother about 1848 that he didn't think he was "d'un byronisme effrayant" (405), while C. M. Muller got rather annoyed because from the mention of one of his pictures in the Salon-catalogue for 1848 had been omitted some verses from Byron written beneath the painting (406). We may further note that Comte put the poet into the Positivist calendar (407) and that an Englishman named Gronow used, in the company of numerous well-known French writers of 1830-1848, to expatiate on the characteristics of Byron's sombre heroes (408). Those details and quotations may help to show that Byron attracted as much notice in the press and in contemporary letters and memoirs as he exercised influence on the actual work of French writers ; both were tremendous.

Milman, by contrast, is a tiny figure. His "Fazio" was imitated by several dramatists in the 'forties ; twenty years before, he had been favourably reviewed (409) for his "Fall of Jerusalem". More interesting to us are the English Romantics proper. Leigh Hunt was mentioned in 1827 as "un poète fort spirituel et de beaucoup de talent" (410) ; in 1840, Chasles gave five rather complimentary pages to his dramatic work (411). Those two facts pretty well indicate his position in Romantic France : little known, he was rated, quite correctly, as a good minor poet. Keats won more than esteem, less than fame among the Romantics. In 1825, Mme Swanton-Belloc said (412) that he wrote poetry "où de grandes beautés se trouvaient mêlées à quelques images hasardées, et à des passages obscurs ; mais il était facile de reconnaître dans ce début un génie extraordinaire, et qui devait briller du plus vif éclat" ; the "Mercure de XIX^e siècle" (413)

(404) Audebrand: "Soldats, poètes et tribuns. Petits mémoires", 1899.

(405) J. Troubat: "Sainte-Beuve et Champfleury" (1908), p. 87.

(406) "Lettres inédites d'artistes français au XIX^e siècle", ed. by H. Jouin: see Muller's letter of 1848.

(407) "Lettres de Comte à H. D. Hutton", at date 1854.

(408) H. de Villemessant: "Mémoires d'un journaliste" (4 voll., 1867-1875), I, ch. 9.

(409) In "Annales de la littérature", 1821, II, 336 ff., 462 ff., by Brugière de Sorsum (presumably, as it's "B. S.").

(410) "Revue Britannique", Dec. 1827, p. 254.

(411) "R. des Deux-Mondes", 1840, II, 131-135.

(412) In the "Revue encyclopédique", Aug. 1825, p. 438.

(413) 1828, XXIII, 493.

referred to him cursorily several years later ; about 1839, August Barbier (414) found Keats, of all the English poets, to have possessed the most delicate and tender sense of ancient beauty ; late in our period, E. D. Forgues (415) wrote thus : "Keats, dont la renommée doit demeurer à jamais... une tradition critique, plutôt qu'une réalité populaire, un murmure plutôt qu'un bruit,... fut cependant, — disons mieux, aurait pu être, — un digne fils de Shakespeare et de Milton" ; Sainte-Beuve made in one of his note-books the entry (416) : "Admirable vers du poète Keats, et que mon ami L... ne se lasse pas de se répéter tout en marchant : 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever' ". In 1820-1848 he was hardly known to the crowd, but he meant a great deal to a few choice spirits ; nevertheless, more people were familiar with his work at the end than there had been at the beginning of the period. Shelley occupied a similar position, but was—probably on account of his heterodox and daring opinions—rather better known than Keats. In June 1821 the "Journal des Savants" went so far as to give a bibliographical notice of "Prometheus Unbound". Cs might also be said to have set the fashion for Shelley criticism of the next twenty years when in 1832 he mentioned (417) the poet "dont les œuvres renferment tant de passages resplendissants de beauté" and called him and Cyrano de Bergerac "demi-génies, belles intelligences que Dieu n'a pas pris la peine d'achever" ; most other critics allowed him as much beauty and a much more intelligence than Cs granted ; Sainte-Beuve (418) had described him as "génie ardent, erroné, intercepti si jeune... !" In 1833, de Custine's "Béatrix Cenci", a five-act tragedy in verse, was played in Paris : the analysis of the piece (419) leads us to conjecture that the French dramatist cleverly adapted Shelley's "Cenci". A decade having passed, we come to André Delrieu's decidedly favourable article (420) on the poet : "Invention, pathétique, grâce, coloris, flexibilité, profond, il a merveilleusement tous les dons, toutes les forces, tous les charmes du génie" ; and in January 1848, E. D. Forgues, by

(414) "Souvenirs personnels" ; from notes written soon after his Italian voyage in 1838.

(415) "R. des D.-Mondes", 1st May 1847, p. 419.

(416) "Les Cahiers de Sainte-Beuve", ed. by J. Troubat, 1876.

(417) "Journal des Débats", 5th March 1832.

(418) "Revue de Paris", Jan. 1832, in article on "Obermann".

(419) "Journal des comédiens", of (21st or) 22nd May 1833.

(420) "Revue de Paris", Nov. 1843.

then a reputed authority on English literature, contributed to the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*" a long, sound, and favourable essay on Shelley, who "a été poète dans toutes les acceptions du mot". Thomas Hood, on the other hand, presented no problems; he was esteemed by the French for his gift of pathos and for his poignant expression of social pity. One of the earliest notices is that (421) in the "*Revue Britannique*" of May 1830; sixteen years later appeared an excellent article by Eugène Robin (422), who dealt at length, very soundly and appreciatively with the major part, the poetry; and in 1847 E. D. Forgues (423) honoured him with a sympathetic article and, while admitting that he sometimes sins grossly against good taste, asserted that he is admirable in pathos as in comedy. (By the way, few people have seen the possibility that Barbier, who travelled in England, should have derived the inspiration of his social poems from Thomas Hood, who preceded him in this field.)

Scott, so different from Hood in temperament and in gifts, is seldom considered in France as a poet, but it is only fair to make it quite clear that several references (424) to him in this rôle rendered him full justice. It was as novelist that he "starred" on the Continent. "One of the finest literary reputations of our time", wrote a critic (425) in 1822, "is undoubtedly that of Sir Walter Scott... Europe has been 'open' to his novels for eight years now, and since then each work that he publishes is taken up, read, admired, from St. Petersburg to Paris. To reprint and to translate his productions, one speculates in speed; one employs the industrial process of 'the division of labour' to give immediately in French the novel that he has hardly finished..., and this novel succeeds in Paris as in London. This success, moreover, is neither troubled by critics nor submitted to the slow and severe judgments of literary men". But Scott was not well-known in Paris so early as 1814, and we may safely follow this summary (426):—"It was in 1816 [M. Lanson says 1817] that an indifferent translation of "*Old Mortality*" began the reputation among us of the unknown author of "*Waverley*". One of his most vigorous novels, "*Guy Mannering*", translated

(421) An extract from "*Blackwood's*".

(422) "*Revue Nouvelle*", Nov. 1846.

(423) "*R. des Deux-Mondes*", 15th Nov. 1847, especially, p. 728.

(424) For the most important, see *infra*, ch. III, introductory portion.

(425) "*Journal des Débats*", 28th Sept. 1822; review by L.

(426) "*Le Globe*", 4th Nov. 1826, article by T. J.

more carefully several years before [M. Lanson says 1816], had passed unnoticed,... because the times were unfavourable. Scott in fact won through by sheer merit. When "Old Mortality" appeared in Paris, "Waverley" and the very title were not known. "Old Mortality" fell by chance into the hands of some men of taste and impressed them immensely. The glad tidings spread in society,... and this book became the fashion in drawing-rooms; the nation came to read it and duly enjoyed it. Scott's common sense, vigour and realistic painting suited us". Auger (427), dramatist and novelist, was fascinated by a novel of Scott's that he read about 1820; the comtesse de Bassanville (428) was thrilled at the prospect of meeting the author in that year, when he was already "dans toute sa gloire"; about this time, Coraly de Gaix (429) (intimate friend to Eugénie de Guérin) took a keen interest in Scott's novels and showed much annoyance at being unable to procure one of them. In 1821, Nodier (430) wrote an excellent article on Scott, spoke of his "universal success", ranked him as the second best prose writer in contemporary Europe, and enthusiastically admired "Ivanhoe"; and Pichot issued the "Notice sur Walter Scott et ses écrits", his first critical contribution on the novelist, the second being his "Voyage historique et littéraire", which concentrated on Scott (431). The year 1822 furnishes us with an out-of-the-way detail (432): at the Chambre des Députés, de Vaulblanc rendered a telling speech even more effective by a neat allusion to Scott. 1823 saw that severe Classic, Duviquet, bestow warm praise (433) on the Waverley Novels and declare that their author "réunit en lui seul presque toutes les parties de l'art du romancier qui concourent rarement ensemble": Patin (434), who later wrote those exquisite books on Greek and Roman literature, stated that these novels were the most distinguished literary compositions in the Europe of the day: Victor Hugo (435) contributed a very good

(427) "Mémoires d'Auger (1810-1859)", ed. by P. Cottin, 1891.

(428) See her "Salons d'autrefois. Souvenirs intimes", II, 244-245.

(429) See her "Correspondance et œuvres", ed. by the baron de Blay de Gaix, 1912.

(430) "La Quotidienne", 17th and 31st Dec. 1821; general matter at earlier, "Ivanhoe" at later date.

(431) "Le Constitutionnel", 28th Sept. 1825.

(432) *Ibidem*, 25th June 1822, in report on the previous day's proceedings.

(433) In the "Journal des Débats", 27th Jan. 1823.

(434) "Revue encyclopédique", May 1823, in review of several of Scott's novels.

(435) "La Muse française", Jan. 1823.

article (general and rather eulogistic) on the author. Fashion, so often blind, followed this time the taste of cultured men, and Scott soon found himself surrounded by "the Courtiers of literature", those writers who walk behind men of genius in the hope of sharing in the glory and profit (436). He owed much of his success in France to the fact that he had returned to the true expression of manners, emotions and character, and to his having liberated his French readers "de l'éternelle monotonie des intrigues de salon, de la fade langueur des intrigues de boudoir, du triste apprêt des intrigues de cour, du sombre ennui des intrigues de mélodrame. L'école de sir Walter Scott", added Nodier (437), "ne pouvait pas manquer de devenir universelle ; c'est le droit de la nature et de la vérité". Pichot's was not the only relevant "Voyage" published in 1825, for Pernot, (438), a court drawing-master, issued a "Voyage pittoresque en Ecosse", which contained sixty views, mainly pertinent to the Waverley Novels. Sometimes Scott meant much more than a novelist : "Waverley" was said to have revolutionised the epic part of French literature by showing a reality hitherto unknown in the treatment of manners, customs, and character (439); Artaud in his "Essai sur le génie poétique du XIX^e siècle" considered "Ivanhoe" the "véritable épopée de notre âge", and his reviewer actually suggested that the epic, tragedy, comedy, the tale, the romance should learn from Scott how to become once more in harmony with the present needs (440). Interest took a practical form. The comte de Montalivet (441), travelling in Scotland in 1826, saw many of the sites described by Scott. It was in this year that Charles (442) called the great novelist "le souverain de la littérature présente".

Shortly after his visit to Paris (November 1826), Brazier and Dartois produced a play that had "la plus complète réussite d'esprit de parti" : "Walter Scott à Paris (443)" treated the question of the Romantics and Classics "à coups de fouet". Scott was

(436) Recast from "La Quotidienne", 29th Jan. 1824, review of "Don Alonzo".

(437) *Ibidem*, 17th Oct. 1823.

(438) See F. Grille : "Autographes de savants et d'artistes", 2 voll., 1853.

(439) "Le Globe", 18th June 1825 unsigned letter to the editor.

(440) *Ibidem*, 17th May 1825.

(441) "Fragments et souvenirs" (2 voll., 1889-1900), I, "Années de jeunesse", section "Voyage".

(442) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle, XIV, in review, pp. 306-308.

(443) A. de Rochefort : "Mémoires d'un vaudevilliste" (1863), p. 40. He gives no date, but the play must have appeared at the end of 1826 or the beginning of 1827, for these two writers made a practice of dramatising "les actualités".

never more popular than in 1827. The reactionary "vicil Amateur", good critic notwithstanding, freely admitted that he deserved the enthusiasm felt for his novels (444). Armand de Pontmartin, having stated that his enthusiasm for Scott was shared by the most select as well as by the mass of his contemporaries (though Romantic women preferred Byron), said (445) that "Walter Scott had as his supporters serious men, reasonable women, "mammias" seeking respectable and interesting books for their sons and daughters, dramatic authors, who borrowed from him the subjects of their plays, and lovers of historical studies, who saw in this novelist the precursor, the revealer, the 'initiator' of a radical reform in the writing of history, a reform that was reflected in the work of Augustin Thierry and de Barante. One can only with difficulty realise this vogue, of which the year 1827 marked the apogee. It profoundly affected even costumes, fashions, furniture, shop-signs and theatre-boards. In 1828, Victor and Théodore Pavie accompanied David d'Angers on a pilgrimage to London to see their hero (446), who was decidedly the author most in fashion (447). Thoughtful men also liked his work ; Doudan at this time advised somebody to read it : "Tu seras transporté dans un monde tout nouveau, quoique réel. Ce n'est point du roman, c'est de la vérité et de la vérité qui n'est point triviale (448)". Significant too are the following words from the pen of a chroniqueur (449) : "L'autre jour je me suis trouvé chez la comtesse..., ma voisine de campagne, avec quelques jeunes gens et quelques jeunes femmes qui n'ont pas dit un mot "du bois", et qui ont même fort légèrement passé sur les romans de Walter Scott". Probably about this time, Villemain remarked of these fictions that they were more true than history (450). The vicomte J. A. Walsh (451) alluded to Scott's productions several times in his letters from England in 1829. In that year, a critic (452) wrote (à propos of

(444) "Annales de la littérature", XXVIII, 432.

(445) "Seconde Jeunesse", 2-3.

(446) A. Pavie : "Médaillons romantiques. Lettres inédites" (1909), p. 231 ; letter of 9th May 1828. David wished to make a bust of Scott.

(447) Stendhal: "La Vie de Henri Brulard", ch. XLI.

(448) His "Lettres", I, at date 4th April 1828.

(449) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1828, XXL, 328.

(450) E. Biré : "Honoré de Balzac", 1897 ; this fact crops up in various places.

(451) See his "Souvenirs de cinquante ans", 2nd edition, 1862, 2 voll., vol. II.

(452) "Le Courrier des théâtres", 10th Aug. 1829.

Deveria and Roqueplan's "Illustrations de Walter Scott"), in terms that apply to 1820-1845 or thereabouts : "Walter Scott est une bonne fortune pour les littérateurs et les artistes de notre époque. Les premiers l'imitent, le pillent, le dissèquent, et vivent en quelque sorte de ses dépouilles, soit en multipliant les traductions de ses romans, soit en y puisant des sujets d'ouvrages dramatiques. Les seconds traduisent sur la toile et sur la pierre cette foule de scènes bizarres, de personnages originaux..., et chacun y trouve son compte, car le public idolâtre Walter Scott, et accueille avec faveur tout ce qui rappelle ses productions". In 1830 Auguste Barbier (453) risked illness to see Scott pass in the streets of Naples. In his "Souvenirs et portraits" (454), penned about 1831, Nodier spoke of Scott as a great writer and a greater painter; Emile Deschamps apologised to J. de Rességuier for his inability to go and discuss or read Scott with him ; "l'auteur de "Waverley" régnait sur toute la ligne" (455); Chateaubriand (456), alluding to the political position of the Duchess of Berry, believed that, in Paris and more especially the provinces, thousands of young women and girls dreamed of playing the part of Diana Vernon, Alice Lee or Flora Mac Ivor. In 1832, E. D. (457) spoke of the exclamation-marks lavished on Scott in those days, and somebody else (458) observed that since "Quentin Durward", Louis XI had become almost the fashion ("romans, théâtres, chronique, il occupe tout, il est partout"); during his illness, the "Journal des Débats" (459) said that the death of Scott would leave in literature a gap like that left by Cuvier in science ; near the end of the year was staged "L'auteur de Waverley" (460), a one-act "vaudeville" based on his literary career. Scott's novels had already made wealthy one of the publishing firms in Paris (461). It was their historical side that gave the most pleasure, as we see by such a passage (462) as this

(453) See his "Souvenirs personnels".

(454) 2 voll., 1833.

(455) A. de Pontmartin : "Mes Mémoires. Enfance et Jeunesse" (1885), p. 284.

(456) *Ibidem*, 274.

(457) "La France littéraire", May 1832, in review of "L'Ecolier de Cluny".

(458) "Journal des Comédiens", 29th March 1832.

(459) 20th Aug. 1832, J. S. in "Variétés".

(460) By Xavier and Masson: see the "Journal des Comédiens", (10th or 11th Nov. 1832.

(461) L. Gozlan : "Balzac chez lui. Souvenirs des Jardies" (1862), reference to 1833.

(462) Referring especially to 1831-1833 : see her "Mémoires" (5th edition, 1907-1908, 4 voll.), IV.

from the pen of the comtesse de Boigne : "Le duc de Laval m'avait dit : "... Nous entrons dans les temps héroïques". Tout le monde jouait au roman historique (463), avec d'autant plus de zèle que c'était sans danger. Sir Walter Scott avait remis les propos chevaleresques à la mode, aussi bien que les meubles du moyen âge; mais les uns et les autres n'étaient que de misérables imitations" (464). An in a serious institution like the Académie de Dijon, a paper was in 1834 read on Scott as an historical novelist (465). At this point, some comment should be made on Maigron's assertion that Scott's vogue in France lasted only from 1820 to 1830. It had begun with "Les Puritains d'Ecosse" in 1817 and continued in all its power till about 1835 : during the rest of the Romantic period, it abated a little—but only a little. Advertisements in the leading dailies show that Scott enjoyed an enduring popularity during the whole period 1830-1848, the number of "annonces" falling off only slightly after 1835. An advertisement (466) in 1840 claims that up to that date 2,000,000 volumes of Defauconpret's translation of the novels (and there were other versions) had been scattered over France. In October 1835, Louis de Carné in his attractive article, "Etudes sur la littérature contemporaine", wrote as follows : "Walter Scott a exercé sur son siècle une influence plus européenne encore que M. de Chateaubriand. C'est que notre esprit sceptique et blasé... s'est merveilleusement accommodé de l'impartialité doctrinale de l'auteur d'"Old Mortality", et si Walter Scott n'a pas été plus populaire en France qu'en Angleterre, on pourrait soutenir, ce semble, qu'il y a formé encore plus de disciples et d'imitateurs" (467). That passage certainly permits us to believe that in 1835 Scott was still extremely popular and that his reputation did not appear to be on the wane ; though the quality of French historical novels (468) became a trifle poorer after that

(463) Consult L. Maigron : "Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique", 1st ed. 1898, revised ed. 1912. Deals mostly with internal evidence on Scott's influence and popularity, on which latter he makes several rather rash statements, unsupported by external evidence ; for comment thereon see Devonshire's article in "The French Quarterly", Oct. 1919, and Brémont's "Walter Scott et le romantisme conservateur" in "Le Correspondant", 25th June 1914.

(464) For satirical comment, see Touchard-Lafossa : "Souvenirs", beginning of vol. V.

(465) See "La France littéraire", Oct. 1834, report by Pellet ; paper read by Frantin.

(466) "Le Siècle", 20th May 1840.

(467) "R. Européenne", Oct. 1835.

(468) Cf. *infra*, the chapter on the novel, general part.

date, numerous imitations still came out; history (469) à la Scott certainly lessened greatly in quantity and a little in quality, but on the stage (470) many adaptations were made from the Waverley Novels during the years 1836-1844, to diminish considerably in the last four years of our period. Armand de Pontmartin fixed "la phase brillante" of Scott's vogue at 1820-1835 in a passage (471) that must be quoted :— "It was not a studious and curious group, passionately interested in a foreign literature: it was the whole of France, from the academician to the little provincial bourgeois, from the great lady to the grisette, which was afire for the stories by this Scotchman, more popular in our country than in his own. He had taken possession of our drawing-rooms, our theatres, our studios, our exhibitions of painting. He coloured with his hues history and the novel; he extended his influence over the fantasies of fashion, over furniture, costumes and all the varieties of Middle-Ages bric-a-brac, which dates from him. This was because the author of "Waverley" arrived among us at the right moment, for he suited wonderfully a period when our Romantic school was seeking its way, reviving the cult of the past, renewing historical studies... He was associated with a revolution that still maintained an aristocratic appearance ; he gave us Romanticism in doses strong enough to satisfy our appetite, moderate enough not to frighten our forebears. In fine, he kept, in his most daring fictions, a restraint, a basis of good sense and good humour, and a sentiment of humanity that rendered him sympathetically agreeable to the most indifferent... After the days of July 1830, his vogue gained a fresh vigour from our legitimist and romanesque imaginations, which found analogies between the Bourbons and the Stuarts". But we must return to the chronicle of Scott's influence and fame. During his trip to Great Britain in 1835-1836, the young comte de Falloux (472), moved by enthusiastic interest and sympathy, visited Abbotsford; a year later, Lockhart's "Life" satisfied a pressing need, for "les admirateurs de Walter Scott appelaient depuis longtemps de tous leurs vœux la publication de ces mémoires" (473). In 1838, Saint-Marc Girardin (474) to his

(469) Cf. *infra*, the chapter on the history, general part.

(470) Cf. *infra*, the chapter on the drama, general part.

(471) In "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", 8th series.

(472) See his "Mémoires d'un Royaliste" (2 voll., 1888), I.

(473) "La Revue française", June 1837, notice on the "Life of Scott".

(474) In his "Souvenirs de voyages et d'études" (2 voll., 1852-1853), II.

Sorbonne class said : "Vous avez lu les romans de Walter Scott; vous aimez dans "Ivanhoe" ou dans "Quentin Durward" les mœurs du moyen âge..." H. Boucher, when he entered college in 1840 at the age of ten, knew four of Scott's novels, the only English books that he mentions for this period ;" George Sand nous montre dans le "Compagnon du Tour de France" [1840] un jeune ouvrier se glissant de nuit dans la bibliothèque de sa noble maîtresse pour y dévorer les ouvrages de Walter Scott et s'en faire un fonds d'éducation. C'est qu'à la vérité l'influence que Walter Scott exerça sur le moment dépassa de beaucoup celle d'un romancier" (475) ; and in the same year appeared the "Nouvelles illustrations anglaises de Walter Scott... pouvant... former à volonté un volume séparé" (476), to be followed in 1841 by the "Galerie des femmes de Walter Scott" (477), containing forty-two "portraits" accompanied with notices. In 1844, H. Babou (478) in his noteworthy essay on "Le Roman historique" devoted a decidedly large amount of space to Scott, whom he made the pivot of his discussion and whom he ranked very high. The next year, Doudan (479), writing to d'Haussonville, drew a picture of Albert de Broglie reading aloud "Old Mortality" to a family circle and remarked : "M. de Broglie voit avec satisfaction qu'on prend grand plaisir à Walter Scott, et moi, enfin, je me lève de temps en temps pour promener ma petite agitation au fond de la chambre". Jules Levallois (480), referring to 1846, says : "Ma tante était une longue, dolente et intelligente personne, qui me faisait lire à haute voix les romans de Walter Scott". A year later, Boucher (481), at the time in a rather monastic establishment, read "I Sposi promessi" (by Manzoni) : "Il est d'ailleurs autorisé ; il faut donc qu'il soit bien irréprochable car on refuse ici jusqu'aux romans de Walter Scott". Finally we may record that Jules Troubat (482), at school about 1850, was one of a class that read aloud to their master a novel by Scott. In summing up, then, it may be observed that during

(475) Blaze de Bury : "Mes Etudes et mes Souvenirs", p. 21. This quotation should also be noted for the refutation of Maigron's "heresy" on Scott.

(476) "Le Siècle", 8th Nov. 1840.

(477) *Ibidem*, 8th March 1841.

(478) "Revue de Paris", Jan. 1844.

(479) "Lettres", II, at date 16th Nov. 1845.

(480) In his "Milieu de siècle. Mémoires d'un critique".

(481) In "Souvenirs d'un Parisien", I, note of 31st Jan. 1847.

(482) "Souvenirs du dernier secrétaire de Sainte-Beuve" (1890), p. 243.

the Romantic period (483) Scott excited more discussion than Byron and drew more references than either Byron or Shakespeare : imitated more than either, he exercised an influence rather greater than Byron's, almost as profound as Shakespeare's: while the poet affected poetry, and Shakespeare drama and to a much smaller extent poetry, Scott influenced history, novel, and, to a slight degree in the 'twenties, even poetry; the novelist, however, reacted rather on form than on thought, while the other two very definitely, Shakespeare much the more enduringly, changed French thought as much as form : all three engendered a distinctive and easily-perceived "atmosphere".

Before passing on to some English novelists that had only a minor importance for French Romanticism, we should dwell a while on Tennyson and the Brownings, who, meaning so much for their own literature, did not go unnoticed by the French critics in the latter half of the Romantic period. Tennyson (484) early won a position that was noteworthy, though far from brilliant. He arrived very definitely in 1833 : on the 4th and 15th March, "L'Europe littéraire" had a short, appreciative article ; in April, the "Revue de Paris" made a cursory reference (485) ; in November, he was described as "original, poète métaphysicien sans mysticisme, analyste et passionné" (486). In 1840 the "Echo de la littérature" alluded to him significantly (487), and two years later the "Revue Britannique" (488) published a prose translation of six of his poems ; thereafter, he was often mentioned (489) by French critics, nearly all emphasising his philosophical turn and delicate technique. His great contemporary, Robert Browning, was noted at least as early as 1839 by Philarrète Chasles (490), who, the following year, gave, in an essay on English drama of the day, five pages to "Paracelsus"—analysis, criticism, ample quotation : "Comme essai dramatique, c'est le

(483) Adequate confirmation of these statements will, I hope, be found in the general as well as the particular portions of the chapters on poetry, drama, the novel and history.

(484) A thesis on Tennyson's influence in France in the 19th century will shortly, I understand, be written.

(485) "Revue de Paris", April 1838, p. 7.

(486) "R. des Deux-Mondes", Nov. 1833, in footnotes to translation of Cunningham's essay on English poetry.

(487) "Echo de la littérature", 1840, I, 23.

(488) Aug. 1842.

(489) N. b. E. D. Forgues's article in the "R. des Deux-Mondes", 1st May 1847.

(490) "R. des Deux-Mondes", 1839, I, 594.

néant même... Ce livre doit être signalé cependant comme une très belle analyse psychologique et morale" ; "la poésie des images y est jetée à pleines mains sur la subtilité des pensées" ; Browning himself, though denied as a dramatist, is called "philosophe et poète remarquable". During the last eight years of Romanticism, he was occasionally mentioned (491), but not so often as Tennyson. His wife, who later became well known in France, received her first translation in 1844, when Pichot rendered and foot-noted her sonnet to George Sand (492) ; but Ph. Chasles had paid her a mild tribute in October 1840, in "Revue de la littérature anglaise", contributed to the "Revue des Deux Mondes".

A few more novelists require a brief attention. Maturin had an enviable reputation : in 1825, for example, Nodier (493) paid a whole-hearted tribute, eloquently expressed, to the power with which the novelist renders emotion and depicts emotional scenes.

Horace Smith won golden opinions (494) for "Brambletye House", which was translated by Defauconpret, and a favourable review (495) for "Tor Hill". Edward Bulwer Lytton, much better known in France than either of those two novelists, first attracted notice by his poem "O'Neill" (496). In 1830 it was said that " 'Pelham', plein d'esprit et d'observation, n'a pas eu en France le succès qu'il méritait d'obtenir" (497), but it made its way soon after, for two years later we find Alfred Desessarts writing : "... Un auteur déjà connu chez nous par 'Pelham' et 'Paul Clifford', c'est Bulwer, homme profond, qui fouille le cœur, le tient dans sa main puissante, en précise les moindres pulsations" (498). Théodore Muret, who was an able critic, stated in 1834 that Bulwer-Lytton's reputation had been several years established in France, where he had won "droit de nationalité", and that in every respect he deserved the honours of trans-

(491) *Ibidem*, 15th Aug. 1847, E. D. Forgues has a 27-page essay on him ; appreciative, sound.

(492) "Revue Britannique", Déc. 1844, p. 471. See J. Texte : "Etudes de littérature européenne", 1898.

(493) In "La Quotidienne", 22nd Dec. 1845.

(494) "Le Globe", 11th Nov. 1826.

(495) *Ibidem*, 3rd March 1847. (Both reviews are by E. D.).

(496) *Ibidem*, favourable review, 23rd May 1829.

(497) "Le Mercure de France au XIX^e siècle", 1830, in the "chronique littéraire".

(498) "La France littéraire", Aug. 1832, review of "Eugène Aram".

lation (499). His early novels proved more popular than his later; the duchesse de Dino remarked of "Night and Morning" : "Cela a quelque intérêt, mais ne vaut pas les premiers ouvrages du même auteur" (500). In the forties, Bulwer Lytton's place in France was quite secure. A rather similar writer, Benjamin D. Israeli became well known during that decade : in 1844, E. Forcade (501) reviewed "Coningsby" at some length and, entitling his article : "De la jeune Angleterre", told the general thoughts that came to him on reading this book ; in the following year, a leading periodical (502) published a translation of "Sybil" ; in 1847, Eugène Forcade contributed a long article (503). "M. Benjamin Disraeli. Le roman politique et la politique romanesque", which began with the words, "M. Disraeli est une des figures les plus singulières et les plus intéressantes de ce temps-ci ; une de celles qui méritent le mieux d'être étudiées". The path for Marryat, a very different writer, was an easy one, prepared for him in France by the maritime novels of Fenimore Cooper. As early as 1837 appeared this note (504) : "La traduction de toutes les œuvres du capitaine Marryat paraît chez Charles Gosselin (505) ; elle forme déjà 12 volumes en-8°. Cette publication jouit d'un grand succès sur le continent". Three years later, the rising critic, Hippolyte Lucas (506), observed that two French dramatists had for the stage adapted "Japhet in Search of a Father", which in 1842 was again imitated (507), this time as "Le Gamin de Londres". As a matter of fact, Marryat drew many reviews during the last fifteen years of Romanticism, but he had a reputation something like that of Paul de Kock. Charles Dickens was less read, far more esteemed. In 1838, "Pickwick was noticed thus (508) "Ce roman... a obtenu [en Angleterre] un certain succès, mais on s'est trompé, je crois,

(499) "La Quotidienne", 15th April 1834. For transs. of B. L., see Lanson's "Manuel", 2nd ed., pp. 1151-1152.

(500) Duchesse de Dino : "Chronique de 1831-1862" (4 vols., 1908-1909), III, at date 8th May 1841.

(501) In "R. des Deux-Mondes", 1st Aug. 1844.

(502) "Le Correspondant", 1845.

(503) "La Revue nouvelle", June 1847.

(504) "La France littéraire" June 1837.

(505) Ladvocat, Renduel and Gosselin were the most prominent of the Romantic publishers.

(506) "Le Siècle", 27th July 1840.

(507) "La Presse", 7th March 1841, chronique by Mme de Girardin.

(508) "La Revue Critique des livres nouveaux", Aug. 1838. In Feb. 1840 the same review dealt very favourably indeed with "Nicholas Nickleby".

en s'imaginant qu'une traduction française réussirait de même.

Quoiqu'on ne se soit pas astreint à suivre rigoureusement le texte, et quoiqu'on l'ait surtout abrégé, il est à craindre que les lecteurs français ne le trouvent encore trop long". "Nicholas Nickleby" met with general approval, as for instance (509) : "Ce roman nous a paru merveilleux de couleur et de vie... Nous croyons que ce roman restera dans le siècle"; and in 1842, adapted for the stage, it gained "un bon et légitime succès" (510). In the 'forties, Dickens was often reviewed, generally in a favourable way : the "Revue Britannique" paid him a lot of attention, both by translations and by notices. Though it would be difficult to determine by internal evidence his influence on French writers, there can be little doubt that he affected the Romantics of the last decade by his stark originality, grotesque humour, and distinctive "atmosphere". Thackeray attracted the critics far less, but he did at least on three occasions figure as a Romantic writer : in 1829 was played "Le Nain de Sunderwald" (511), imitated from the English author, while in 1847 appeared Michel Ange Titmarsh, i.e. Thackeray's continuation of "Ivanhoe" in the form of a "Lettre à Alexandre Dumas" (512) ; between these two publications, there came "L'Abbaye de Penmarch", a melodrama (513). All three received little notice in contemporary France. One of the earliest reviews was that on "The Irish Sketch Book" in 1843 (514).

Certain other English writers were often mentioned during the Romantic period. But the historians of the nineteenth century, Lingard (515), Hallam (516), and even Macaulay (517) were

(509) "Echo de la littérature", Feb. 1840.

(510) "Gazette des théâtres", 3rd Feb. 1842. Adapted by Dinaux and Le-moine; played at the Ambigu-Comique.

(511) Noted by Lanson in the "Manuel bibliographique", item 16199.

(512) In the "Revue Britannique", Jan. 1847. Thackeray wrote French very well; he spent much time in France; his visits to Paris are mentioned by Henry Reeve in vol. I of his "Life and Correspondance", ed. by J. K. Laughton, in 2. voll., 1898.

(513) In 1840 : see Lanson's "Manuel", item 16200.

(514) "Revue Britannique", June 1843, p. 469.

(515) His "History of England", translated 1825 et seq., was well and frequently reviewed in (e. g.) "La Quotidienne", from 28th Sept. 1825 to 29th Oct. 1829.

(516) Stendhal, letter of 24th Oct. 1818, speaks of "l'admirable ouvrage", the "Hist. of the Middle Ages". See also his letter of 14th Nov. 1820. De Barante (in his "Souvenirs") thought highly of the "Constitutional History of England" in his letter of 20th Dec. 1843.

(517) See esp. the "R. Britannique" of 1842-1843, and note essay by M. in the no. of Jan. 1846. The French rated M. very high.

not Romantic and so could hardly have exercised a consonant influence on Guizot, Thierry, de Barante, Michelet and the others.

Much more important are the modern English essayists and miscellaneous writers, Lamb, Hazlitt, de Quincey and Carlyle. (Coleridge in this capacity seems to have been rather neglected.) Charles Lamb was the first in the field, and in 1819 his "Works" received a very favourable notice (518), special reference being made to "John Woodvil", "Rosamund Gray" and the "Christ's Hospital" essays. There appeared (519) in 1831 a translation of the Essay on Poor Relations; two years later, Ph. Chasles version of the Old China essay. In 1837, Auguste Bourjot, in his article (520) on "Les Essayistes", gave much space to Lamb: "Ce génie excentrique, peu connu en France, mais chéri de tous les Anglais, mériterait pourtant une réputation plus européenne". Five years after, Ph. Chasles (521) wrote "Le Dernier humoriste anglais", based on the "Poems and Essays" and "Letters"; treating him biographically as well as critically, he showed himself most appreciative. In 1848, Amédée Pichot (522), in a forty-page article entitled "Le Secret de Charles Lamb", said: "Nous avons trop souvent parlé de Charles Lamb dans 'la Revue Britannique', dans d'autres et ailleurs, pour que nous n'ayons pas eu à éviter aujourd'hui quelques redites". Sainte-Beuve came to know his Essays (523), and, though long after 1848, Mérimée (524) also became acquainted with and liked them. Quiet esteem, such as he himself would have approved, was the lot of Lamb in Romantic France. Hazlitt met with not quite so good a reception: in 1821, his "Political Essays, with Sketches of Public Characters" was agreeably noticed (525); four years later, he was rather doubtfully complimented in this fashion (526): "L'aristarque romantique, W. Hazlitt, vient de mettre au jour son volume annuel d'élucubrations et d'essais" and "c'est le plus métaphorique des écrivains modernes"; soon after (527), the an-

(518) "Revue encyclopédique" Dec. 1819, p. 593.

(519) In the "R. de Paris", Oct. 1831 and Dec. 1833 respectively.

(520) In "La France littéraire", Oct. 1837.

(521) In "R. des Deux-Mondes", 1842, IV, 327-347.

(522) "R. Britannique", Oct. 1848, p. 370.

(523) See his "Nouvelle Correspondance", letter of 27th Dec. 1862.

(524) "Quelques correspondants de Mr et de Mrs Childe", 1912, M.'s letter of 17th March 1870.

(525) "Revue encyclopédique", Feb. 1821, pp. 330-331.

(526) "Le Globe", 29th Jan. 1825.

(527) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1827, XVI, 109.

nouncement of his "Life of Napoleon" alluded to the fact that the French translation was to appear at the same time as the original, and the author was called a "littérateur anglais très estimé"; and in 1830 came a very eulogistic (though brief) general criticism (528) on Hazlitt. De Quincey's "Confessions of an Opium-Eater" drew an article from several papers (529), which gave longish extracts, but it was little treated from the purely literary point of view. Carlyle aroused more interest than De Quincey. In 1839 we find Chasles (530) making short but very appreciative comments; next year, the same critic (531) remarked that, since Byron and Scott, Carlyle was the most-discussed writer in England, and spoke with great praise both of the man and of his work; in 1841 Vinet (532) in a letter to Erskine referred thus to him: "... Votre "Carlyle", où je trouve des trésors"; the "Revue Britannique" of 1842-1848 contained at least six (533) noteworthy reviews or allusions, in which the Scotch essayist and historian was often eulogised. Vivid and forthright, graphic and strong, he must have appealed to such Romantics as read him.

Those were the chief English writers to influence French Romanticism, and greatly varied was the manner in which they affected and were received by it. Such a mass of foreign impulse must have tended to complicate and at the same time to enrich the movement, and the French writers were surely impressed by the number of articles they saw in the contemporary press concerning the literature of Great Britain; that they were affected by these articles and more especially by the books that they read for themselves, appears not only in the press but in the memoirs and letters written at the time.

Among these details, these quotations, we have noticed that some indicated either a manifest or a latent opposition to English influence. Not only the Classics in mass but a few individual Romantics disliked the idea of France owing anything to this

(528) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", late 1830, under "Littérature anglaise".

(529) "La Pandore", 29th and 30th Sept. 1827; "Le Corsaire", 10th Dec. 1827.

(530) "R. des Deux-Mondes", 1839, I, 603-604.

(531) *Ibidem*, 1840, IV, 5-18, in article "Thomas Carlyle. 'The French Revolution, a history'". Chasles referred to him several times in the "Revue de la littérature anglaise", in the same periodical, 1840, IV, 159-171.

(532) "Lettres d'Alexandre Vinet et de quelques-uns de ses correspondants", II, letter of 1841.

(533) "R. Britannique", Nov. 1842, pp. 185-186; May 1843, pp. 225-226; June 1845 p. 442; July 1845, pp. 188-189; Feb. 1846, p. 507; March 1847, pp. 237-238.

foreign literature, whether past or in the making : some of them subtly hinted their distrust, more of them proclaimed it aloud, a few of them thrust it violently in the face of their compatriots. The majority of these writers opposed English literature, not as English but as foreign, and on the ground that French literature was betraying an unbecoming weakness and losing her independence and flouting "the old masters", Corneille, Racine, Molière and Voltaire, when it had recourse to works written outside of France, either for direct imitation and adaptation or for suggestion of theme, manner, and atmosphere.

As early as 1819, Byron met with opposition. One E. addressed Baour-Lormian thus (534) : "Vos vers. et c'est un mince éloge que j'en fais, valent bien deux fois ceux de lord Byron". In 1822, J. de Pétigny (535) set Byron at the head of the writers practising the "genre frénétique" and deplored that he should have apotheosised the pirate type. Against the followers of Ossian, now rather few, a reactionary critic (536) inveighed about the same time : "Toute cette nébuleuse fantasmagorie, renouvelée des chants pompeusement insipides, attribués au Barde apocryphe de la Calédonie, enveloppe, d'une brume épaisse de galimatias et d'emphase glaciale, les soi-disant chefs-d'œuvres qui font fureur parmi les "dilettanti" de l'école Ossianique". La martine's poetry may well have brought about a slight revival of the cult for Ossian so powerful during the First Empire ; in 1831 Balzac (537) broke out amusingly : "Les genres appartiennent à tout le monde, et les Allemands n'ont pas plus le privilège de la lune que nous celui du soleil, et l'Ecosse celui des brouillards ossianiques". Imitators of Shakespeare soon came under the lash : "The Greek drama will always be regarded as the only code for the theatre ; despite a few exceptions, those who succeed by means of Shakespeare and Schiller cannot be promised enduring good fortune" (1821) (538).

In 1822 a company of English actors ("The Penley troupe") went to Paris and had a rather rough time. Armand de Pontmartin (539), in speaking of the 1827 visit, said : "Cinq ans à

(534) "Le Constitutionnel", 15th Nov. 1819 (in "Esquisses").

(535) "Annales de la littérature", 1822, VI, 343-344.

(536) *Ibidem*, 1821, IV, 5, the critic being P. A. Vieillard, a well-known writer of the early 19th century.

(537) His "Correspondance" (2 voll., 1876), I, letter of 25th Aug. 1831.

(538) "La Quotidienne", 19th Feb. 1821 (D. in "Variétés").

(539) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", 1st series.

peine s'étaient écoulés depuis le terrible orage, accompagné d'une grêle de sifflets, de gros sous et de pommes cuites, qui avait accueilli, à la Porte Saint-Martin, un premier essai d'acclimatation Shakespearienne... cette unique représentation, que le parterre ne laissa pas finir, que la police ne laissa pas recommencer..., ces pauvres artistes, qui faillirent mourir de faim avant de regagner leur pays". That is a very well known passage, but it needs modification : the actors tried once more at the Porte-Saint-Martin, but were unsuccessful ; a few days later they gave, by subscription, six nights at the Salle Chantierine (540),—one of those delightful instances of French courtesy that had nothing much to do with Romantics or Classics, but resulted from an open-minded love of art and literature. Stendhal (541) and Madame de Launay (542) state that the unfortunate scenes of the first two performances were due to the crowd's wish to "user de représailles" for Waterloo ; but whatever the origin, that tumult constituted, in its practical issue, a repulse of the English drama.

Observe the ultra-reactionary outlook two years later : in essence it is the same. "[Les romantiques] se sont figurés qu'ils allaient restaurer l'art dramatique en France, parce qu'ils y apportaient les trésors littéraires de la Grande-Bretagne ou de la Germanie. Ils se sont faits Anglais pour être originaux, Allemands pour être naturels ; ils ont tout changé, excepté le public qui a repoussé ces enfants bâtards des muses étrangères" (543). This attitude was applied even to Népomucène Lemer cier, in respect of his "Richard III et Jeane Shore" : an anonymous critic said that he had so badly judged himself that he felt it necessary, in order to make fresh dramatic conquests, to have recourse to Shakespeare, and that he had imagined himself free from rules because he sheltered behind the foreigner, who had followed none (544).

During the years 1824-1827 (approximately), English influence increased considerably,—and met stern opposition, as we see by the following passage (545) from Jal : "The salon of 1824

(540) For these two facts, see *infra*, chapter on drama.

(541) His letter of 1st Sept. 1822 is, of course, the "*locus classicus*", for this affair : see his "*Correspondance*".

(542) In Sainte-Beuve's "*Madame Desbordes-Valmore. Sa vie et sa correspondance*", 1870 ; letter of 6th Aug. 1822.

(543) "*Mercure du XIX^e siècle*", 1824, V, 128, anonymous writer.

(544) *Ibidem*, 1824, V, 133.

(545) From A. Jal : "*Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres*", pp. 50-51.

gave me much to do. The literary '89 had been effected. One boasted of having taken the Bastille and of having slain "le sieur Nicolas Boileau", the governor thereof. As one had borrowed from England a form of government that functioned rather badly, by the way, one borrowed from the same place a literature that suited France hardly better. Young fools, bent on destruction, were seen applying themselves to the overthrow of Racine as they chanted wild refrains and, to the amazement of the public, to the strenuous raising of Shakespeare's image, worshipped fulsomely by idolaters that knew not a word of English... Corneille and Molière were a nuisance, but they were treated with some consideration; the Romantics were satisfied with setting over against them the author of "Hamlet" and "Othello", for whom of course they showed a marked preference. They affectedly said that it was necessary for us to be original, vivid, poetic (Racine wasn't a poet!), and they were incorrect, incomprehensible, clumsily imitative; they were exaggerated, trivial, and pompous. They had reached the stage of being extravagant: they gave themselves up to poetic rage". Foreign words were getting into the vocabulary; the Classics may be pictured saying to themselves "We must see to this!" Some such thought informs Léon Thiessé's warning (546): "Si l'on n'oppose enfin une barrière à ce débordement de solecismes et de barbarismes, dans quelques années il n'y aura plus de langue française: au plus bel idiome de l'Europe aura succédé un dialecte anglais et allemand". Again, in 1828, P. A. Vicillard spoke out thus: "La langue française... accueille aujourd'hui avec bienveillance les tributs de toutes les littératures européennes; des novateurs rétrogrades s'imaginent que, pour naturaliser dans la nôtre les traditions poétiques de l'Angleterre et de l'Allemagne, il est indispensable de farcir notre idiome d'une foule d'anglicismes et de germanismes qui font dégénérer la langue de Racine et de Massillon en un jargon moitié breton, moitié tudesque, plus digne de la barbarie du moyen-âge que d'une époque de perfectionnement" (547). But it was no mere verbal matter: Romantic French writers were following English in theme and manner, and drew on themselves in 1825 the following advice (548). "Guard against germanisms and anglicisms. To imitate, copy slavishly, parody Shake-

(546) In the "Revue encyclopédique", May 1824, p. 352.

(547) "Annales de la littérature", XXXI, 136-137.

(548) "La Pandore", 17th July 1825, on p. 4.

speare, Schiller, Scott and Byron, is not originality. To change one's master is not to become free."

About the same time, Mme de Genlis thought fit to belittle Scott and Byron. In her "*Mémoires*" (1825) she found the Waverley novels boring and refused them imagination, genuine interest, and any striking passages; to her idea, Byron's poems contained beautiful parts, but lacked plan and displayed a hateful misanthropy; the vogue of both would pass (549). Scott soon experienced a further set-back; at the beginning of November 1826, on the eve of his visit to Paris, appeared this stricture (550): "Let the book-sellers and the drawing-rooms make Walter Scott most welcome; but the organs of public opinion must not too much excite the Parisians to enthusiasm, nor must praise and flattery, if it be possible, go beyond just bounds... Scott has not shown himself the friend of France": within a couple of days, "*Un Français ami de toutes les gloires*" inserted in "*La Pandore*" an open letter combating this point of view.

Not merely Scott, but English literature in mass was censured as intrusive. That there was an upheaval in French literature was bad enough; nevertheless, if there should be one, let it be caused by the inhabitants not of a foreign country but of France: "*Il ne semble pas qu'on doive attribuer, comme on l'a prétendu, la gloire de cette révolution à l'étude des muses étrangères. Sans ôter à Walter Scott, à Byron, à Goethe et à quelques autres, ce qu'ils ont de titres à notre reconnaissance, observons que les trésors poétiques de ces beaux génies n'ont été importés chez nous que depuis le discrédit de la poésie descriptive*" (551). In the same year, another Classic rather gave the lie to that statement: while the one just hated to admit any foreign influence, even on the detested Romantics, the other struck at those "*Novateurs*" by postulating external action on the movement: "*Ces messieurs imitent et ne s'embarrassent pas de la création. Schiller, Walter Scott, Shakespeare sont les modèles sur lesquels ils ajustent leurs pâles et froides copies*" (552). Moreover, Delécluze (553) in "*Roméo et Juliette*" (1827) sought to bring it home

(549) I take this from "*Annales de la littérature*", XXII, 424 (C. J. T.'s review of *vol.* 7 and 8 of the "*Mémoires*", q.v. at VII, 67-68).

(550) "*La Pandore*", 2nd Nov. 1826; the open letter appeared on the 4th Nov.

(551) "*Mercure du XIX^e siècle*", 1827, XIX, 10 (article by D).

(552) "*Le Corsaire*", 20th April 1827, in review of "*Le Flibustier*".

(553) See once more his "*Souvenirs de soixante ans*".

to his fellow-countrymen that among foreign languages there were some by which they might profit, but there were others, English in particular, which might well harm the French tongue if they so far carried the taste for imitation as to borrow English phraseology.

In 1827-1828, the second company of English actors provided Paris with something new in the way of drama. Welcomed enthusiastically by the Romantics, they were bitterly opposed by the Classics. Before their arrival, Soumet had declared that "Shakespeare, whom one read with pleasure, would not stand the test of the stage; besides, "Hamlet" and "Othello", were rather sublime attempts and beautiful monstrosities than masterpieces" (554). Soon after the English company began their performances, the dignified and important "Journal des Savants" pronounced thus: "Quoique ces représentations aient été suivies avec beaucoup d'intérêt et qu'on ait vivement senti les grands traits du génie de Shakespeare, il ne paraît point que ces épreuves puissent accréditer parmi nous le système appelé romantique: le bon goût des spectateurs a fait une justice paisible, mais sévère, des invraisemblances et des inconvenances" (555). That passage was at any rate courteous and reflective, though we may well feel a little surprised to find this cautious periodical delivering judgment so soon. But that was mild compared with the furious indictments made by Charles Maurice in "Le Courrier des théâtres", which began, continued and ended hostile to the English actors. Before ever they started, it was said that they could not possibly succeed in Paris (556). With regard to their opening night, Charles Maurice asserted that "Vains ont toujours été les raisonnements qu'on a plusieurs fois essayé de coudre les uns au bout des autres pour nous prouver qu'un théâtre anglais peut se naturaliser à Paris. Trop d'obstacles, entés sur trop de passions, s'opposent à ce qu'on importe sur notre scène, si belle de régularité, si exempte de toute espèce de souillure..., les *beautés* bizarres, les *hardiesses* extravagantes d'une littérature à part et confinée dans une île... Si messieurs les acteurs anglais daignent nous en croire, ils repasseront bien vite le détroit et s'éparagneront du 'désagrément'" (557). In 1828, Maurice rather

(554) "Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie" (2 voll., 1863), II.

(555) "Journal des Savants", Sept. 1827, in the bibliographical section for France.

(556) "Courrier des théâtres", 4th Sept. 1827.

(557) *Ibidem*, 7th Sept. 1827.

rushed things and greatly misrepresented the facts when he said that enthusiasm, not very lasting, had passed for the English actors ; that one admired them no longer ; that all the Romantics were indeed convinced that Shakespeare was often boring ; that one could see only once, and then out of curiosity, a play that one didn't understand,— that, in fine, an English theatre could not exist at Paris more than six months (558). The reviews given by many papers contradict the statement that Paris soon grew tired of the visiting actors, who, moreover, played there during some nine months (excluding a month's vacation). In the same article, the formidable critic slashed right and left as Miss Smithson, Kean and Macready. There is just this to be advanced in his favour : he saw clearly that the influence of the English company would endure for many years and would affect not only play-writing but acting. The results were very far-reaching ; had Maurice lived till the visit of 1844-1845, he would, perceiving how the memory of the previous company had lingered, have regretted not having even more strenuously opposed this dangerous innovation. Not all the Classics, however, resisted so staunchly as Maurice : “Voilà que nos absolutistes littéraires commencent à se laisser gagner par le plaisir, et à convenir qu'il est plus d'un chemin pour arriver au but de l'art. A peine quelques représentations ont-elles eu lieu, et de tous côtés l'on se rapproche” (559) ; “Les classiques français les plus sévères n'ont pu refuser leur sympathie, leurs larmes ou leur effroi à l'amour de ‘Juliette’, aux remords de ‘Macbeth’, aux angoisses de ‘Jane Shore’” (560). But the English theatre was hampered materially, as we read (561) in November 1827 : “L'administration, qui devrait le protéger et le soutenir, le tourmente et le paralyse. Les exigences de l'opéra deviennent chaque jour plus intolérables... Le directeur du théâtre anglais n'a plus le droit de faire jouer sa troupe qu'une fois par semaine, et jamais les jours d'opéra... La censure elle-même vient augmenter les embarras du théâtre anglais, ses ciseaux s'exercent sur les pièces anglaises comme sur les pièces françaises, et sans égard pour les devoirs de l'hospitalité” ; the same critic ascribes to jealousy the pressure applied by the Opera. An improvement came later in the num-

(558) “*Courrier des théâtres*”, 10th July, 1824.

(559) “*Le Globe*”, 13th Oct. 1827.

(560) “*L'Annuaire historique universel*”, 1827, “Notes”, section “Théâtre”.

(561) In “*La Quotidienne*”, 10th Nov. 1827.

ber of performances, but the censorship remained. That was opposition of the most practical and discouraging kind, and the influential "Quotidienne"s cutting remarks (562) undoubtedly struck home.

"Le Globe", very favourable to the English actors, had no time for mere imitations. "Guerre donc, guerre à mort, à tous ces drames allemands ou anglais rabougris qui souillent notre scène. Il n'y a que la traduction, quand elle est possible, et quand le traducteur sait la donner fidèle et inspirée, qui puisse trouver grâce" (563). In drama, Shakespeare exercised the most influence, so naturally he was treated the most stringently by the Classics, who attacked him sometimes directly, sometimes through his "disciples". P. A. Vicillard stated in 1828 that the acerb and pedantic tyranny of the extemporary "Shakespeares" was the scourge of literature, and he gently warned them that time would put them in their place (564). Very frank was the anonymous critic that gave the advice: "Laissons Shakespeare aux Anglais; ce sera toujours là notre dernier mot. Mais, poussés par votre mauvais génie, vous voulez absolument le naturaliser en France; alors, ne lui ôtez pas sa couleur, sa physionomie, ses bizarreries" (565). Rather similar was this other aspersion cast on Shakespeare a year later: "There you are! To satisfy this need for innovation and originality, one is going to seek old Shakespeare to reproduce on the stage his brutal genius, his gigantic and wretched conceptions... "Othello" has started the advance, and "Macbeth", "Hamlet", and "Romeo" dispute the honour of entering the breach..... It is this ancient renown of a country not our own, of an idiom strange to us, of a nation whose morals, manners and tastes have nothing in common with ours, that pretended innovators would like to impose on us to-day" (566). That implied hit at de Vigny's version of "Othello" (first played in October 1829) should be supplemented with one more specific. The leading official organ (567) of the day found it queer that de Vigny, "qui marche à la tête de la nouvelle école" (568), should begin his dramatic career by an adaptation. "How-

(562) This passage, which amounts to a revelation, should be read in full.

(563) "Le Globe", 20th Oct. 1828. Thus P. D-s, i. e. probably Paul Dubois.

(564) "Annales de la littérature", XXXII, 39.

(565) "Courrier des théâtres", 5th July 1828. The critic was most likely Ch. Maurice.

(566) "La Quotidienne" (reactionary in the eighteen-twenties), 26th Oct. 1829.

(567) "Le Moniteur universel", 27th Oct. 1829, the critic being one "P."

(568) Lovers of De Vigny please note!

ever that may be, and since he has wished to try this translation", it added, "we advise him,—the public has done so already,—to suppress some thoughts that are really too naïve, as well as a number of long passages that fatigue the attention without adding to the interest."

In the heat of their anti-Shakespeare campaign, the Classics didn't forget Scott and Byron, dangerous fellows too. In 1829 T. B. said (and we must admit that he had some justification for saying): "C'est à tort, selon nous, qu'on veut exclusivement donner à sir Walter Scott la gloire de cet amour récent pour nos anciennes chroniques, et d'avoir par ses romans suscité la nouvelle école historique" (569). Four years later (the years 1830-1831 show a slackening in the opposition to English literature, the Revolution preoccupying the mind of the public), Scott's influence on the novel was arraigned before the court of the reactionaries: "On a, en général, beaucoup exagéré l'importance des modifications apportées par Walter Scott dans la manière de traiter le roman. S'il fait servir ses créations ingénieuses à mettre au jour les habitudes, les préjugés, les travers d'une caste ou d'un peuple, des "Cavaliers" ou des "highlanders", il ne fait que suivre une méthode adoptée depuis longtemps par Cervantes et par Lesage" (570). One may have slightly over-emphasised the modifications, but Scott had greatly developed the historic method in the novel, and he had made "le roman historique" very popular, made its followers a school. Byron also was "hauled over the coals". In 1832 or 1833, H. de la Morvonnais (not that he was a Classic!) entered in his "cahiers" (571) the following note: "Tout homme passionné est poète: aussi M. de La Mennais est-il un poète sublime. Dénoué de foi, il eût été le Byron de la France, avec plus d'étendue de génie. Grâce au ciel, il n'en est point ainsi; au lieu de le faire ouvrier de ruine et de découragement, Dieu l'a fait ouvrier de reconstruction et d'espérance". That moral stand-point distinguishes (in a manner less religious) an 1833 article (572) on Byron from which we must quote a passage on his imitators: "The soil on which he walked was not poetic... Yet everyone runs thither; credulous people, they rush

(569) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XXVI, 122.

(570) "Revue européenne", Aug. 1833, anonymous article on "Ettore Fieramosca".

(571) That section of his "cahiers" which was in 1901 published as "Esquisses bretonnes": see Fleury's first-class book on H. de la Morvonnais.

(572) By F. C. in the "Revue européenne", May 1833.

where a great poet has passed, in order to breathe-in something of the atmosphere. They all take emptiness for their god and disenchantment for their poetry ; one sees nothing but youthful hearts already groaning and disillusionising themselves, as best they may, as to a world that they don't even know ; one sees nothing but anticipated despair, which luckily is purely lyrical, nothing but the hoods of cynics and sceptics, who wear them with boyish naïveté provocative of a smile... Poor masquers who, wishing to play at Satan, betray their very simple human nature beneath the devil's garment !... The chord that Byron wished to touch in their hearts was anti-poetic ; it needed fingers like his to render it musical ; but he quickly exhausted it, and even genius equal his own would no longer draw anything from this dead fibre".

The body of English literature still encountered opponents. In 1832, Joncières (573) set forth his opinion that it was rich, opulent with alloys and cast-off parts ; that it attracted one much more by the eye than by the heart ; that it was, before anything else, a well-adorned literature. In the following year, the "Royalists" of literature, aided by Thiers, were preparing to combat foreign literature and were at the bottom of their hearts cursing the translations and the translators of Shakespeare, Byron, Scott, Goethe and Schiller (574). In 1833-1834, Ernest Falconnet headed a Lyons movement that aimed at dethroning English and setting up in its place German literature. Early in the former year he wrote : "Détournons un peu nos yeux et notre attention de cette Angleterre dont nous semblons être les très humbles esclaves", words that prefaced his "Etudes sur les plus célèbres écrivains de l'Allemagne" (575) ; that article contained also an attack on Byron. In the latter year he broke out again : "Las du démoniaque, du Childe Harold, du Giaour, nos littérateurs font du sentimental, ils rééditent avec variantes les folies amoureuses de Werther, les sentimentales divagations de Goethe, de Tieck, de Kleist ; après avoir cravaché à la façon de Walter Scott toutes les chroniques de la France, ils se mettent à brocher de plates imitations allemandes" (576). But general attacks on English literature became far fewer during the years 1835-1848 than they

(573) "Le Globe" (now in the hands of the Saint-Simoniens), 19th April 1832.

(574) "L'Europe littéraire", 28th June 1833, on the authority of "Y".

(575) "La France littéraire", Jan. 1833.

(576) *Ibidem*, Sept. 1834, article on Hans Sachs.

had been in the earlier part of the Romantic period. The most noteworthy onslaught of these later years took place so soon as 1836. "That such or such a French writer", says the graphic Granier de Cassagnac (577), "should have been sometimes inspired by this or that English or German writer, that a given work reflects another ; that "René" derives perhaps a little from Goethe, "Henri III" from Schiller, the "Enfants d'Edouard" from Shakespeare : that is possible, and I do not mean to deny it. But that the Romantic literature in mass, prose and poetry, art and language, novels, dramas and odes, comes to us from England and Germany,... there's something that seems to me illogical and impossible, and I deny it utterly. No : the literary renaissance that continues even now is neither English nor German, but French ; it has its beginnings neither in Shakespeare nor in Schiller, but in the traditions and very elements of our national language and literature". That indictment carries all the more weight, because as Granier de Cassagnac surely saw, it was a bad sign that Frenchmen should belittle their own literature, and because, though he dismissed far too lightly the influence of specific English writers on individual Frenchmen, and though he put aside completely the question of "atmosphere", it contained a great deal of truth.

But the attacks on individual English writers continued; though here again they were fewer than during the years 1820-1834. Scott incurred a severe reprimand from Théophile Gautier, who in 1836 wrote: "Walter Scott is dead; God forgive him! but he has introduced into the world and made fashionable the most detestable kind of literary composition it is possible to invent; the name has in itself something deformed and monstrous that manifests from what antipathetic union it was born: the historical novel, or in other words the false truth and the true lie". (578). The same year was responsible for a thoroughly Classic attack on Shakespeare, who fell into the hands of P. F. Tissot (579) the eminent critic and philosopher. "One has been enthusiastic... for the compositions of Shakespeare, who creates admirable scenes and excels at drawing character, but could

(577) "La Presse", 13th July 1836, article on Chateaubriand.

(578) Th. Gautier : "Souvenirs de théâtre, d'art et de critique", 1883. This excerpt had originally figured in the "Chronique de Paris" of 3rd May 1836.

(579) "La Nouvelle Minerve", end of 1836, article on Chateaubriand's translation of "Paradise Lost".

never compose a play. It is difficult to conceive how one has been able to persist in such a favourable though prejudiced view after seeing on our stage Shakespeare's plays, even when modified by judicious taste. If, in effect, their representation has, even to the most attentive readers of the father of the English drama, revealed unexpected beauties, it has also brought out the incoherence of his tragedies, the empty spaces found in the midst of so many objects heaped-up in the same frame, the languid action, the suspension and sometimes the absence of that concentrated interest which constitutes the life of every kind of play. It was truly a sort of madness to dare, after such a test, still to rank Shakespeare, in the matter of composition, higher than Corneille or Racine". Three years later, Cuvillier Fleury (580) reasserted the Classic attitude: "Shakespeare... is still an audacious innovator with us. All those who wished to precipitate drama into the perilous ways trodden by his genius have failed. The French public, despite the inventions of the modern theatre, has remained shy and self-respecting". After an interval of several years, we come on an interesting reference to Byron's waning vogue: "Nous voici arrivés à une réaction complète contre la poésie orageuse et passionnée de Byron et des Byronistes. Maintenant les inspirations de nos poètes sont toutes calmes" (581). One fears that some of the sources of inspiration in 1842 were anything but calm and one knows that Byron's influence, though lessened, may be found in French poetry later than that.

During the last six years of the Romantic period, the most popular English writer was Shakespeare; he was also most attacked, probably because the capable and indeed notable Shakespearean adaptations, well received on the stage or much read, caused a considerable amount of jealousy among the other dramatists. In 1843 appeared a slashing article (582), "Du drame romantique et de sa décadence", wherein L. A. Binaut made the following statements: "We have much insulted our ancestors during the last twenty years... Clever critics trod underfoot our classic models, especially poor Racine. But when it came to Shakespeare! it was marvellous to see how they built literary systems on the very defects of this great man; how his most shocking irregularities became art; how his "hors-d'œuvre"

(580) "Journal des Débats", 16th Nov. 1839.

(581) "Echo de la littérature", Aug. 1842.

(582) "Le Correspondant", May 1843.

were now the legitimate result of his including in his work all kinds and conditions of men ; how his grave-digging scenes and other such farces were ascribed to profound intentions of which one couldn't find the slightest trace. Under the shelter of these convenient hypotheses, our young poets thought they would easily rise to Shakespeare's height ; they had only to set at defiance all the rules and to declare in a philosophical preface that all such proceedings concealed very serious ideas and very profound views on the drama of humanity. "Seek and you will find", said the poet in learned fashion. They sought but did not find. And now you see them shedding their illusions and fancies..." To such opponents of Shakespeare, the visit of the English actors in the winter of 1844-1845 must have been irksome and disturbing : they remembered perhaps how the company of 1827-1828 had undermined the classic stronghold ; this fresh influx of foreign drama was likely to drive the reactionaries from their last desperate corner. As a contemporary critic remarked : "Les artistes anglais arrivent fort à propos pour commencer auprès de ces adversaires de Shakespeare [c. à d. des modérés dans la littérature] la réhabilitation du grand poète" (583). About three months before they arrived, J. T. had written : "Shakespeare n'a jamais été heureux en France ; il a toujours eu affaire à des contempteurs effrontés qui l'ont insulté en le volant, ou à des admirateurs timides qui ont été effrayés de son génie" (584). But A. de Vigny, Meurice and Vacquerie, Sauvage and Duhomme, admirers, could not be said to have shown themselves very timid in their Shakespearean adaptations. Still earlier in the same year (1844), the great English dramatist had been opposed in his condition of foreigner ; H. Babou, in his article (585) on Emile Deschamps's translation of "Romeo and Juliet" and "Macbeth", filed this complaint : "Est-il bien opportun de nous ramener à Shakespeare, lorsque personne n'ignore que le romantisme a trouvé dans l'étude excessive des littératures étrangères une cause de dissolution... P... Il faut donc méconnaître complètement la portée des idées actuelles pour publier des imitations ou des traductions de Shakespeare". That is a fine piece of bluff, and the question

(583) "Gazette des Théâtres", 18th Nov. 1844. The anonymous critic is probably Achille Denis.

(584) "La Quotidienne", 2nd Sept. 1844.

(585) "Revue de Paris", Feb. 1844.

is begged rather daringly. English literature by giving variety to Romanticism tended to keep it alive : new channels were opened, new possibilities suggested. French Romanticism was a tumultuous, emotional movement that died by the excess of its excitement ; the divine passion once dead ; writers were too sincere to play out a mockery of pretended love. But Romanticism had not disappeared by 1844. Moreover, the ideas of the day did not preclude adaptations and imitations from Shakespeare, but,—judging by the number produced in the 'forties and by the always favourable, sometimes enthusiastic general reception accorded them by the press, — lay at the back of such attempts. In 1846, however, the dramatist met with rather rough treatment from Ducuing, whose article "Shakespeare et notre répertoire" (586) was on the whole depreciatory ; for example, he began in this manner : "Il en est un peu de Shakespeare comme d'une contrée lointaine dont on s'est épris sur description. De l'un, les critiques ne nous ont reporté que les curiosités littéraires ; de l'autre, les voyageurs ne nous ont raconté que les merveilles ; et c'est à travers ces échappées de vue que notre imagination complaisante a cru découvrir tout un monde enchanté". He then made a pretence of patching up the harm he had done, by saying : "Sur l'admiration qu'on porte au génie du poète anglais, je n'ai rien à dire et je la partage" ; what he wants to know is "si l'on ne devrait pas l'admirer autrement qu'on ne l'admire aujourd'hui". That concession threw no dust in the eyes of contemporaries, several of whom picked up the gauntlet to some purpose.

Throughout the Romantic period, exception had from time to time been taken to the growing prevalence (587) of English manners, customs, and dress in France. In 1845, to give two instances, Gautier (588) wrote : "Tout ce joyeux monde de la Bohème aura disparu devant les mœurs anglo-américaines qui tendent à nous envahir" ; and spoke of "le membre du Jockey-Club le plus anglaisé". But the influence of social environment in its few superficially English aspects little affected the better class of literature, however much it may have been reflected in the trash of those days. Gautier was very loyal to his

(586) "Revue nouvelle", Jan. 1846.

(587) L. Claretie's art. "L'Anglomanie" in "La Revue", March 1919, summaries for the whole 19th century.

(588) In "La Presse" of 2nd June and 11th August 1845.

country ; it was he who (589) "renvoyait arbitrairement Lamar-tine et Musset en Angleterre, en disant que c'était leur patric".

Among the opponents of English literature, three or four stood out above the others for the consistency or the bitterness of their attacks ; they were all Classics. Their activities were, in the main, restricted to the earlier half of the Romantic period ; Arnault died in 1834 and Vieillard about the same time, while Jouy and Viennet wrote comparatively little after that date. P. A. Vieillard, so prominent in the 'twenties, pursued his way calmly but relentlessly ; his adverse criticisms on English literature have already been noticed. He was a lamb when compared with Jouy. A few days after the fracas caused by the English actors at the Porte-Saint-Martin in 1822, Stendhal wrote to Stritch : "M. de Jouy... s'est mis dans une grande colère contre Shakespeare. Son journal, le "Miroir", d'hier, est rempli de la diatribe la plus comique et la plus violente dans l'expression contre... "Roméo et Juliette". ...M. de Jouy étant l'un des personnages les plus influents de la littérature française, j'ai saisi l'occasion de vous le faire connaître. Les plates injures qu'il dit à Shakespeare laissent soupçonner qui a préparé les scènes indécentes et étonnantes du théâtre de Saint-Martin" (590). Though the "Die-hard" slated the English dramatist very badly, he copied him on the sly : "M. de Jouy, au talent près, est comme Voltaire ; il se rapproche de Shakespeare, il l'imité ; mais il voudrait bien qu'il ne fût connu de lui seul" (591) ; "il a copié le songe terrible de Richard III dans Sylla", a play (1822) that Stendhal declared to have "fait faire un grand pas au théâtre français" and to have been the result of Jouy's foresight and disguised opportunism. (592) One Th. M. — probably the keen-minded Théodore Muret (593) — summed-up his attitude rather picturesquely : M. Jouy (594) poursuit d'une haine égale les prêtres et Shakespeare, Schiller et les jésuites". Another critic stated that "son aversion pour l'étranger s'étend jusqu'à Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, lord Byron, et Walter Scott" (595).

(589) According to A. Houssaye : "Confessions", VI.

(590) "Correspondance de Stendhal", letter of 7th Sept. 1822.

(591) *Ibidem*, *ibid*.

(592) *Ibid.*, 6th March 1823.

(593) In "La Quotidienne", 26th April 1833.

(594) It seems that one allowed him the particle merely by courtesy.

(595) "Le Constitutionnel", 24th Dec. 1847, in the report on Empis's "Eloge de M. de Jouy".

In short, Jouy was the most influential and the most violent of the anti-English writers that lived in the Romantic years. Viennet (596) ran him fairly close. In 1820 he showed his dislike for English and all foreign literature when he sarcastically reviewed the "Choix de poésies de Byron, Walter Scott et Moore": "On demande à grands cris du Byron, du Walter Scott et du Schiller. On le paye même d'avance ; on l'achète sur parole ; et les traducteurs s'arrachent les conceptions de ces grands génies" (597). While borrowing from Scott, he slighted him, — a practice of a kind common to himself and Jouy —, as Coulmann (598) amusingly tells us. "M. Viennet faisait aussi des romans et ne les admirait pas moins carrément que ses pièces de théâtre. Un jour qu'il passa à la Chambre devant M. Lafitte,... celui-ci lui dit : "Je viens de lire la "Tour de Montlhéry" (599) ; c'est dans le genre de Walter Scott. — Moins les défauts", répliqua M. Viennet". In the preface to his novel, "Château Saint-Ange" (1834), he pitifully deplored (600) the bad taste that passed by several of his own works to "défier les ordures de Shakespeare". But, though he maltreated English literature, he more than once imitated it, as for instance in "La Tour de Montlhéry" and at least two other productions. In 1825 he published "Le Siège de Damas", on which Stendhal (601) made the following observation : "Le "Siège de Damas", dit M. Viennet, est une tragédie déjà faite en anglais par le célèbre John Hughes. T. Viennet, qui est classique et ennemi du *barbare* Shakespeare, n'ayant pu faire cette tragédie en conservant les deux célèbres unités de *lieu* et de *temps*, en a fait un poème". And in 1847 appeared his comedy, "La Course à l'héritage" : "Nous y avons reconnu", says an anonymous critic (602), "l'idée de "l'Argent",... de sir Edw. Bulwer Lytton, et un conte satirique de Crabbe, intitulé "la Famille où l'on s'aime"... " (603). A. V. Arnault, thoroughly Classic, was inimical to English literature, but sel-

(596) Viennet was born in 1776, Jouy in 1764, Arnault in 1766 ; Viennet, dying in 1868, survived Jouy by twenty-two years.

(597) "La Minerve littéraire", I, 297.

(598) "Réminiscences", I, ch. XX.

(599) This novel, published in 1833, bore the sub-title : "Histoire du xix^e siècle".

(600) As Y. Y. informs us in his review of that novel in the "R. des Deux-Mondes", 2nd April 1834.

(601) "Correspondance", at date 14th Oct. 1825.

(602) Either Amédée Pichot or, more probably, E. D. Forgues.

(603) "Revue Britannique".

dom expressed his dislike and, apparently, avoided roving on that "happy hunting ground". His general attitude towards foreign innovations may be illustrated from one of Alphonse d'Herbelot's letters (604 : "J'ai vu l' "Othello" d'Alfred de Vigny, et j'en ai été ravi,... parce que... il y a là dedans tant de verve et de génie,... qu'il faudrait être bien classique, bien "Jouy" et "Arnault", pour n'en pas être remué jusqu'au fond des entrailles"; and he gave direct outlet to his feelings in his article, "Sur quelques mots anglais naturalisés français" (605).

That body of anti-English criticism provides a very useful, very illuminating commentary on the influence exercised by the literature of Great Britain on French Romanticism. The "anti" movement had the result of defeating the very end it was supposed to effect : it put the Romantics on their mettle and rendered them desirous of proving that with English themes, "atmosphere" and ideas, they could produce good work. Psychologically considered, the attacks on imitation made it good fun to imitate ; lack of opposition would have turned an interesting pursuit into a dull habit ; the Classics should have remembered the truism that nothing so much fosters obstinacy as hindrance. There can, indeed, be little doubt that, over and above the exhaustion conséquent upon tumultuous activities, one of the causes for the waning of Romanticism in the 'forties was the diminishing opposition to English literature : it became less exciting to draw on a mass of writings that contained so rich, so varied a store of Romantic subjects of all kinds.

(604) "La Jeunesse libérale de 1830. Lettres d'Alphonse d'Herbelot", 1908 ; letter of 2nd Nov. 1829 to Cornudet.

(605) "Revue de Paris", Nov. 1833.

CHAPTER III.

POETRY

The greater part of French Romantic poetry was lyrical. An eminent critic has defined Romanticism as "le lyrisme" ; that definition is hardly broad enough, but certainly lyrical poetry, because it expresses emotion or aesthetic impressions, naturally tends to be romantic. Moreover, of the romantic passages in epic, as a brief consideration of two such divergent poets as Homer and Milton will show (1), the large proportion are lyrical ; descriptive poetry charms mostly when the writer translates his personality into the scenes depicted,—and what is lyricism without the personal note? Not only lyrical but all Romantic literature may be defined as the vivid embodiment of personality ; the technical form determines the genre. And if ever there were a personal movement or phase in literature, it was French Romanticism ; and the poets expressed their individuality more unwaveringly, more consistently, and more freely than the dramatists and the novelists (2).

English, a very personal literature, strong on the lyrical side, made then a ready appeal to the French poets. "A son aurore", says Théophile Gautier (3), "l'école romantique, en peinture et en poésie, reçut un rayon d'Angleterre". Paul Dubois (4), on the other hand, declared the school of early Romantic poets "sans la moindre connaissance approfondie... de la langue de Milton et de Shakespeare qu'elle inscrivait sur son dra-

(1) It is really supererogatory to mention the scene of the two camps by night in the "Iliad", and the love scenes between Adam and Eve in "Paradise Lost".

(2) In history, of course, one should, to secure the best results, make imagination subserve the intellect, and express individuality much rather in terms of mind than in terms of emotion and aesthetic impressions.

(3) "Souvenirs de théâtre, d'art et de critique", in preface to a catalogue of paintings, 17th Dec. 1868.

(4) *Souvenirs de Paul Dubois sur Cousin, Jouffroy, Damiron", ed. by Ad. Lair, 1902 ; Chapter on Cousin.

peau" : that was true only of the mass, and could apply neither to Lamartine and de Vigny nor beyond the first three or four years of the movement. One of the earliest influences was Scott's ; speaking of the poets of 1820-1830, Hippolyte Lucas (5) remarked that "Walter Scott, dont la réputation était à son apogée, exerçait un grand empire sur eux".

In 1821 had appeared Philarète Chasles's "Essai historique sur la poésie anglaise" (6), which, containing a fair deal of criticism on "the Lake Poets", runs counter to Mr. M. A. Smith's statement (7) that they weren't at all adequately discussed in France until Pichot dealt with them in his "Voyage... en Angleterre et en Ecosse" (1825). At the end of 1823 it was said that "en général, le génie poétique fait effort pour sortir des routes accoutumées ; et trois auteurs anglais ont exercé sur notre littérature une influence qu'on ne peut désavouer" (8) ; these were Byron, Scott and Moore. A year later, E. Deschamps represented a Classic as exclaiming : "Tenez, ce qui nous exaspère le plus, c'est cette rage de germanisme et d'anglicisme, qui semble s'être emparée de nos poètes romantiques" (9). During the years 1824-1829, French poets paid much attention to Greece, and Byron caused this "invasion" (10). Soon after the visit of the English actors in 1827-1828, a group of intelligent and progressive critics provoked and encouraged poetry based on the imitation of foreign literature (11), as Gérard de Nerval tells us. And the French poets sometimes went to England for theory as well as practice. "So true is it that the gloomy and melancholy kind of literature affected by the present school of writers comes to it from abroad, that it has chosen the celebrated Young for patron and legislator. It is his treatise "On Original Composition" that the Romantics, wishing to have in their turn a literary code, set over against Boileau's "Art poétique" (12)". In 1830 a reviewer of Sainte-Beuve's "Tableau de la poésie française au XVI^e siècle" wrote as follows :

(5) "Le Siècle", 26th Oct. 1840.

(6) "Revue encyclopédique", Feb. and March 1821.

(7) "L'influence des lakistes sur les romantiques français".

(8) "Annuaire historique universel", for 1823, in the "Revue" section.

(9) "La Muse française", May 1824 (in "Mœurs"), p. 266.

(10) Privat d'Aiglemont : "Paris anecdote".

(11) "L'Artiste", 22nd Dec. 1844, article on "Les Acteurs anglais".

(12) "Courrier des théâtres", 18th June 1829 (in the review on "Joseph De-lorme").

(13) "All the innovations that the new school of poetry has put into practice and established as theories may be brought under two main heads. As for technique, the return to the verse-forms... of Ronsard and his contemporaries ; as for the matter, imitation of English or German writers. We quite understand that this second point of literary doctrine shows chiefly in practice, and that it is rather disguised in the new poetics given to us in the shape of prefaces... But however disguised it may be, one cannot fail to recognise that the theory has been drawn up in accordance with Shakespeare and Schiller..... Doubtless nothing is more natural than that Shakespeare and Schiller should excite admiration among us, and that the extremely rich and vivid literatures of the North should please eyes wearied with so many pale copies of our great masters. One must, however, guard against an error only too common, that of believing oneself inspired when one has merely understood".

The English poets were read, admired and imitated. Armand de Pontmartin (14) relates that, as a youth, he became acquainted with the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Byron and Moore, "dieux insulaires qu'encensait la jeunesse de 1830, en délaissant Corneille et Racine". In that year, the writer of an essay on Elegy : "L'Ecole du Lac, qui pousse la rêverie à ses derniers excès, compte d'illustres disciples, et Coleridge, pour composer ses poèmes entre la veille et le sommeil, n'en est pas moins un poète plein de grâce et d'harmonie. Au reste, nos lakistes n'en sont pas encore à ce point ; mais ils y arriveraient si on les laissait faire" (15). The younger generation, along with several of the older, "wished to transplant on to the French Parnassus poetic flowers that had opened beneath strange climes", said A. Bignam (16), adding : "In literature, we must repulse every exclusive system : to disdain the riches offered by the muses of Albion and Germany, would be but a narrow patriotism. As much glory now attaches to being inspired by foreign masterpieces as there was in the seventeenth century to imitating the enduring beauties of Greek and Roman literature".

Of foreign poets inspiring French poetry, Byron had the most influence, which sometimes annoyed the critics. Ernest

(13) "Revue française", Jan. 1830.

(14) "Enfance et jeunesse", p. 72.

(15) "Le Globe", 20 th Jan. 1830.

(16) "La France littéraire", April 1833, reviewing Papion du Château's "Esquisses poétiques".

Falconnet, the Germanophile, in his essay "De la littérature à Paris et dans les provinces en 1833" (17), remarked that Pétrus Borel's "Contes immoraux", Gautier's "Jeune France" and A. de Musset's "Namouna" form a natural and indispensable result of that prodigious debauch of the mind, Byron's "Don Juan". Two of those works were, of course, in prose ; but that fact doesn't affect the general statement that Byron exercised a tremendous influence on French Romantic poetry. Even more valuable is the testimony of Esquiros, who in 1834 divided the literature of the day into two schools, the religious and the satanic, with Chateaubriand as the father of the former, Byron of the latter. (18). About this time, Adolphe Mazure (19), in a very attractive essay on the English poet, wrote as follows : "It is he who has given movement and impulse to all the poetry of this century ; it originates with Byron, it lives entirely by his genius. If indeed there has risen among us a school young and powerful, impatient of the future, fertile in images, rich with an abundance of thoughts that the great contemporary events had ripened for the harvest of the poet, we must attribute to Byron a large share in this veritable advance in the domains of art and poetry ; for he more than any other has taught us to seek new effects off the beaten tracks of a literature that the trivial traditions of the eighteenth century had ended in exhausting..... But we must also recognise that Byron's influence has in many ways prolonged the immorality that characterises the errors of our poetry. For if this poetry, too prompt to overstep the limits of a legitimate originality, has manifested a deplorable predilection for vice and ugliness... ; if certain writers of outstanding merit, — writers whose touch one must admire at the very time one blames the way they employ it —, marching at the head of our literature, have followed the banners on which they wrote such words as these, "Mortality, ineluctable Necessity", one may say that Byron with all his genius lies open to the reproach of having been the promoter of this retrograde movement..... Byron has had in England and in France a group of imitators, who perpetuated his school by popularising his genius. These imitators are of all kinds, from the eaglet as strong as its master... to the troop of night birds, black of plumage, issuing from

(17) "La France littéraire" March 1834.

(18) *Ibid.*, Oct. 1834 ; article on the periodicals.

(19) *Ibid.*, Oct. 1834.

their murky nests to go and sport in the rays of the sun they blaspheme. Thence comes that immoral and feverish literature which, Byron as chief, has, after passing through our theatres, mounted even to our drawingrooms... Among these followers, true to the tradition of the leader, immorality... is more ardent, more vivid, more passionate than in the last century ; it aims at becoming law and at oversetting the foundations of society and the ties^o of family..... It is most remarkable that the first movement of poets in this century was spiritual... The materialistic genius of Byron has conquered for a while, and called our writers to him, but, after being lost, they will rise again, you may be sure". In 1836 Poujoulat wrote : "Byron a fait quelques disciples, à qui l'imitation a plus ou moins réussi; mais, à l'heure qu'il est, tout ce qui est jeune et nouveau en poésie, admire le poète anglais sans chercher à grimacer son scepticisme" (20). Poujoulat, however, rather overstated his case, for though the satanic element in Byron was, after 1835 (21), rapidly attracting fewer imitators, the lyrical qualities still charmed numerous followers ; that very solid critic seems to have implied that Byron delighted and was imitated only for his irony, despair, and moral as well as intellectual audacity ; but he affected such a poet as Lamartine by his melancholy and by the intense lyricism that informs his poetry in various parts.

Not only Byron, but other individual poets and English poetry in mass, exercised a far-stretching influence during the 'thirties. A literary manifesto (22) of 1835 contained a noteworthy passage : "Quelle mine inépuisable à exploiter, que le génie poétique de l'Europe au dix-neuvième siècle ! Sans parler de la France, qui tient encore le sceptre des arts et de la civilisation, que de trésors la muse britannique nous réserve encore après Byron et Walter Scott ! Quels poètes que Wordsworth le pontife de la nature, Crabbe, qui peint tout parce qu'il sait tout embellir, le lauréat Southey, le fougueux Coleridge et l'élégant Campbell, et Thomas Moore, avec ses amours des anges... et ses mélodies irlandaises...". During the one year of its existence, the "Revue poétique" contained sixteen translations by A. Béraud, Albert Montémont, Jules Lacroix, A. Desportes, B., C. C.

(20) "La Quotidienne", 4th May 1836.

(21) Estève fixes Byron's "glory" at 1820-1835, his "decline" in France from 1835 onwards.

(22) "La Revue poétique", 1835, the "Introduction" by "B...".

and others from the poetry of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Scott, Moore, Crabbe, Hogg, and three or four more. In 1838 Toussenel inserted in one of his *feuilletons* (23) the observation that "il y a quelques années (et ça n'est pas encore fini), tout jeune poète se disait : "'Othello' n'est pas complet, je l'achèverai. Il manquait une femme à Don Juan, je l'aurai" : a fresh and arresting way of postulating the influence of Shakespeare and Byron on French poetry of the time. Their influence continued until the end of the Romantic period, Byron's waning steadily, yet still decidedly appreciable in 1848, Shakespeare's remaining just about the same — less in 1838 than Byron's, but a decade later approximately equal. A year before the Third Revolution, there appeared Caze's "Esquisses de versification", which affords an interesting commentary on the interest aroused by English metric in the 'forties. That book was reviewed (24) in the words : "Encore un poète de province ; mais celui-ci est un novateur qui propose de substituer à la rime le "vers blanc" des Anglais. M. Caze connaît fort bien la poésie de Milton et de Shakespeare ; il y a dans ses propres essais quelques vers dignes de ces poètes ; mais quelques-uns seulement, et les autres auraient besoin de la rime". Recurring to Byron, it may finally be noted that in the late 'forties and at least the first three years of the 'fifties, his Oriental poetry was still popular and still imitated. In 1853, Flaubert (25) picturesquely exclaimed : "... Le soleil ! le soleil !... Quand je ferai de la poésie orientale (car moi aussi j'en ferai, puisque c'est de mode et que tout le monde en fait), c'est là ce que je tacherai de mettre en relief. On a compris jusqu'à présent l'Orient comme quelque chose de miroitant, de hurlant, de passionné, de heurté. On n'y a vu que des bayadères et des sabres recourbés. Le fanatisme, la volupté, etc., en un mot, on en reste encore à Byron ; moi, je l'ai senti différemment".

The general influence of English poetry on French Romantic poetry in mass is extremely hard to determine in the light of external evidence. But the general tenor of contemporary periodicals, letters and memoirs distinctly indicates, and at given points proves, that it was powerful, lasting and varied. The fact that it was less discussed during the later half of the period constitutes evidence that it was becoming more an accepted thing for

(23) In "Le Temps", 29th June 1838.

(24) "Revue Britannique", Oct. 1847, pp. 469-470.

(25) "Correspondance", letter of 1853

the French poets to draw their inspiration from English sources. Did the evidence on the drama and the novel show that in those genres the writers no longer imitated, adapted, or borrowed in small ways from England, then it would be rash to presume that silence meant consent. But references to drama and the novel do prove that they were greatly affected by English literature throughout the Romantic period. Moreover, we know that knowledge of English literature was both more general and more profound in the 'forties than in the twenty years preceding; that the "Lake Poets", for instance, were becoming well known.

It will, however, help us to gain more definite ideas if we subjoin a few further brief considerations on the influence exercised by certain individual English poets on the poetry of the French Romantics. Shakespeare, just because his was a comprehensive and gigantic genius, difficult of assimilation, affected French poetry in a broad way: rather in atmosphere and theme than in technique; in rather the audacity than the profundity of thought. It is significant that the whole corpus of truly Romantic French poets admired him immensely and that most of them read him a great deal; and, to posit what is pretty much of a truism, when admiration for a great genius accompanies extensive knowledge of his work, imitation, whether conscious or unconscious, will almost inevitably result; in a general fashion, conscious imitation applies to theme and verbal daring, while unconscious inspiration usually applies to tone and colour. If we accept those premisses, we must surely conclude that Shakespeare's influence on the Romantic poets was profound and far-reaching.

Milton, on the other hand, was considered mainly as an epic poet, and the epic was not the Romantics' strong point. Yet, in such productions as appeared in this genre, the touch of Milton may be seen very clearly. Without insisting on the rather obvious instance of Soumet's "Divine Epopée", we may note two less known instances of Miltonic influence on French poetry. Dupré Deloire's long lyrical narrative, "Charles Martel" (1834), was remarked on thus: "Il serait merveilleux qu'on pût traiter un tel genre sans tomber dans de nombreuses redites empruntées à Virgile, au Tasse et à Milton" (26). In 1839 was published

(26) "Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", Feb. 1834.

Jean Reboul's poem, "Le Dernier Jour" : "inspiré par Dante et Milton, par la "Cité de Dieu" de Saint-Augustin, par le "Jugement dernier" de Michel-Ange, le poète,... enveloppé de solitude, s'élève vers des régions inconnues, pleure sur les ruines, sur le dernier jour du monde", writes the baron G. de Flotte (27), on the authority of a long friendship with Reboul.

Gray and Ossian had little influence on theme after 1820, but Ossian undoubtedly affected Hugo, Lamartine, de Vigny and some lesser poets in sentiment and "atmosphere". Wordsworth and Coleridge had probably no effect on French poetry before 1830 or thereabouts; on external evidence, they left a rather small, problematic imprint on later Romantic verse, though a thorough examination of the texts themselves will most likely show a large amount of poetry inspired by them. Scott, more as novelist than as poet, had a say, for in 1831, B. E. (28), having stated that a number of French poets had adopted Scott's historical manner as a guide, observed : "Voilà la vérité toute trouvée, se sont-ils dit. Non, elle ne saurait jamais l'être par ce moyen".

Take Byron. According to Delécluze in those invaluable "Souvenirs" : "At the period when Lamartine and Victor Hugo, still young men, felt the need to compose verses, a foreign poet of the first order... swayed with his poetic sceptre the majority of the rising French writers of the time..... It would undoubtedly be unjust to designate these two French poets as imitators of Byron, but they have involuntarily retained something of his manner. The author of the "Méditations", when he abuses the faculty of charming with his verse to render acceptable an improbable story like that of his poetical novel, "Jocelyn", and the writer of "Les Orientales", when he gives way to belittling the different classes of society in his plays, — these poets furnish more than one proof of Byronic influence". In 1825 an anonymous journalist (29) said quite frankly : "Etudié avec les précautions du goût, le génie de lord Byron peut offrir à nos poètes une riche mine d'inspirations nouvelles". Later in the same year came a protest against the kind of imitation : "Qu'a-t-on, en effet, le mieux imité dans les ouvrages de lord Byron ?

(27) In his "Souvenirs, études, mélanges littéraires", 1865.

(28) "Revue européenne", Sept. 1831.

(29) "La Quotidienne", 10th Jan. 1825, at end of a news paragraph on Byron's "Œuvres inédites".

Précisément tout ce que voudrait en effacer un goût sévère et judicieux" (30). About 1834, the French poets sought the marvellous for their work and, following Byron, had recourse to the Oriental (31). Years later, Eugène Manuel (32) wrote to his bosom friend and fellow poet, Laurent-Pichat : "Rappeler Byron, c'est quelque chose. Mais pour Dieu, produisez !" The reference applied to "Libres Paroles", which Laurent-Pichat brought out in 1847.

We see then that the English poets who most influenced French Romantic poetry were Shakespeare, Milton, Young, Ossian, Scott and Byron, of whom the first and the last exercised an influence rather greater than that of the other four combined. Moore's talent was too facile and superficial to produce any lasting impression, though it was responsible for several fine poems. As the output of those seven poets varied widely in nature and in quality, so their influence was extremely various in degree and in manner. The temperaments of the individual French Romantic poets responded differently one from another : Lamartine, impressionable, reproduced in many of his poems the tone and colour of Ossian and Byron ; Hugo, who enjoyed playing to the gallery and had a very keen eye for the main chance, saw that the Oriental element, made so popular by Byron and Moore, was a good line, and so he wrote "Les Orientales".

Quite other than Lamartine and Hugo, Béranger, sturdily independent, didn't owe much to English literature, though one may ask wheter some of his songs were not affected by Moore's "Irish Melodies". He generally professed to dislike the English people, partly because "les démocrates de Londres me semblent furieusement aristocrates" (33). But later he softened considerably in this respect (34). From an examination of his "Correspondance" (35), we deduce that he didn't speak English, but that he read it a little : he is rather contradictory as to his knowledge of the language. Nor did he know much about the literature. In 1836 he wrote to Chateaubriand concerning the "Essai" and the

(30) "Annales de la littérature", XIX, 103, article by Edmond Géraud.

(31) "Revue Européenne", Oct. 1834, in article "De la littérature actuelle".

(32) "Lettres de jeunesse", at 1st Feb. 1852.

(33) L. Séché: "Hortense Allart de Méritens" (1908), p. 113 ; letter of B., 25th July 1826.

(34) *Ibidem*, p. 297, letter of 16th April 1835.

(35) Ed. by P. Boiteau, 4 vols., 1860.

translation of "Paradise Lost" : "Aujourd'hui, grâce à vous..., je pénètre dans la littérature anglaise, et je me réconcilie avec Milton" (36) ; but about the original poem he said : "Cela me paraît indigérable" (37) ; later, he qualified this animadversion by admitting that if he could read it in English he would probably like it (38). Shakespeare appealed to him more. Somewhere he said : "C'est un grand inventeur que Sue, et ses types resteront comme ceux de Shakespeare" (39) ; his "Irai-je ou n'irai-je pas à Paris ? Voici la question dominante" (40) looks very like a parody of the well-worn "To be or not to be, that is the question"; in "Ma Vie" he alluded twice to Shakespeare, considered a great genius—a rather crude one. Of Byron (41) and Burns (42) he thought highly. Esteeming England and the English more than he cared to acknowledge, he wished his poetry to be known in Great Britain; in fact, in 1824, he negotiated for the publication of an annotated edition of his poems, with prefaces in English (43).

Béranger's junior by eight years, Soumet started late in imitating English literature. He knew a good deal about Shakespeare, Milton, Scott and Byron ; only Milton to any notable degree influenced his poetry, and that was as late as "La Divine Épopée". This work certainly owed much to "Paradise Lost": a critic in the "Revue Britannique" (44) implied rather than stated, assumed rather than demonstrated the debt ; Soumet, by writing to H. Lucas : "Vous dites que je traite Satan comme nous traitons les rois de la terre" (45), shows that he had followed Milton in glorifying Satan; "la création d'Idamée, qui rappelle à quelques égards le Satan de Milton, a de la grandeur et du relief" (46); in his funeral oration on Soumet, Patin said : "Il osait prétendre à cette palme de l'épopée si rarement cueillie... Il la

(36) "Correspondance", 25th June 1836.

(37) *Ibid.*, 20th July 1836 to J. Bernard.

(38) N. Peyrat : "Béranger et Lamennais, Correspondance, entretiens et souvenirs", (1861), B.'s letter of 10th July 1846.

(39) Undated letter published in the "Correspondance" and previously by Mme Solms. Cf. "Correspondance", 13th March 1849 and Peyrat, *op. cit.*, Béranger's conversation with Peyrat in 1832.

(40) "Correspondance", 6th Sept. 1837.

(41) E. Legouvé : "Soixante ans de souvenirs", I, 236.

(42) Peyrat : "Béranger et Lamennais", B.'s conversation with Peyrat in 1832.

(43) "Correspondance", 29th Aug. 1824.

(44) Jan. 1841, in the "chronique littéraire", III-IV.

(45) H. Lucas : "Souvenirs littéraires", 1890, p. 246.

(46) "Le Correspondant", nov. 1845, Faure's article on Soumet.

cherchait, tantôt à la suite de Milton, dans les régions "divines", merveilleuses, fantastiques, où sa rêveuse pensée se plaisait à se perdre; tantôt, comme Le Tasse, plus prudemment, dans le champ de l'histoire..." (47). Mostly in the character of Idamée, not so much in atmosphere and theme, Soumet imitated the Milton of the "Paradise Lost".

Born in 1788, the same year as Soumet, Guiraud in poetry came earlier under English influence. In 1824 he composed a "Chant hellène" on Byron: a lady of his acquaintance was by this poem almost reconciled with the English poet (48). A year before, his play, "Le Comte Julien", had been published. Was this work inspired by Landor's "Count Julian?" The contemporary French press offers no elucidation; but then it said nothing as to a possible Shelleyan influence on de Custine's "Cenci". All in all, however, Guiraud owed little to English writers.

Casimir Delavigne, another member of the earlier generation of Romantics, owed much more. As Dumas (49) has truly observed: "Casimir... était né quinze ans trop tôt pour entrer franchement dans notre voie [à nous autres, romantiques]. Aussi son allure fût-elle éternellement empêchée et flotta-t-il incessamment de Voltaire à Byron, de [M. J.] Chénier à Shakespeare, sans parvenir à prendre une allure à lui". Arsène Houssaye (50) has rendered somewhat the same testimony: "Shakespeare et Hugo ont eu beau lui donner les admirables leçons de la grandeur, de la beauté, du pittoresque: il n'écoutait que d'une oreille, tant il entendait encore les chansons de Ducis et de Colin d'Harleville". In his various "Messéniennes" (1818-1827), he borrowed occasionally from Byron. Concerning the "Nouvelles Messéniennes" (1822), Léon Thiessé (51) stated that in the first one, Delavigne had "appropriated" several passages from Byron, the most important imitation being that in which he repeated the English poet's comparison of Greece with a beautiful woman just dead; "le récit de la mort du lévite, qui termine la première Messénienne, est entièrement imité de la "Vierge d'Abydos"...

Amédée Pichot and others recognised in the third instal-

(47) "Journal des Savants", June 1845, report of the "oraison funèbre".

(48) L. Séché: "Le Cénacle de la Muse Française", 1909, p. 208; Mme Roger, the academician's wife.

(49) "Mémoires", XII, 326.

(50) "Mes Confessions", III, section on C. D.

(51) "Revue encyclopédique", nov. 1822, pp. 309-310.

ment "des emprunts faits à Byron" (52). In the "Sept nouvelles Messéniennes" (1827), "Le Départ", as de Chénedollé noticed (53), contained a stanza ("Je les brave tes flots, je ris de leur courroux") taken from "Childe Harold". But his English debt was much smaller in poetry than in drama, for in poetry he owed something of a general nature to Shakespeare, much in particular to Byron, while in drama he borrowed freely from various sources.

Half-hearted Romanticism didn't suit Lamartine, who may be said to have definitely begun the new movement by his "Méditation poétiques" in 1820. He commenced to learn English in 1808, worked hard at it the following year (54), but admitted a year later (55) that he was not yet proficient; when he married an English girl, Miss Birch, in 1820, he soon learnt to speak the language well. He thought a lot of the English people: "Vivent les Allemands pour la raison, les Anglais pour le génie, la fermeté d'âme, l'indifférence sur la fortune! aimons-les et imitons-les" (56); the very month he wrote this, we see him translating from English (57). He early made the acquaintance of Moore, whom he invited to attend a reading of the "Méditations" (58): later, he seems to have had a very useful knowledge of English literature (59), especially (60) of Shakespeare, Richardson, Byron, Scott, Ossian, Gibbon, Cowper, and Young; in 1834, he wrote to Cunynggham, a poet with English blood in his veins: "J'ai admiré votre traduction de Byron et vous avez pleuré la mort de ce grand génie des temps modernes en vers dignes de lui... Le "Voyageur" et le "Village abandonné", de Goldsmith, deux pièces où éclatent toute la naïveté et la mélancolie de son beau talent, ont justement attiré votre attention. Enfin la traduction du "Messie" et de "L'Essai sur l'homme" de Pope, est faite en vers que Delille pourrait envier" (61). In 1810 he had

(52) "Revue de Paris", Aug. 1832.

(53) "Annales de la littérature", (1827), XXVII, 91.

(54) Lamartine: "Correspondance" (6 voll., 1872-1875), I, 24th Jan. 1809.

(55) *Ibidem*, I, 10th Aug. 1810.

(56) *Ibidem*, *ibid.*

(57) *Ibid.*, 30th Aug. 1810.

(58) "Revue des Deux Mondes", 15th Aug. 1st Sept. 1905, "Le Mariage de Lamartine. Lettres inédites, at 20th Jan. 1820.

(59) For a good summary of L.'s commerce with Eng. lit., see L. Séché: "Lamartine de 1816 à 1830", 2nd edition, pp. 165, 178-179.

(60) See *passim* "Confidences", 1849, and "Nouvelles Confidences", 1851.

(61) "A. Lamartine (1833-1913)... Lettres inédites de Lamartine" (1914), p. 196, letter of 1st Feb. 1834.

said : "Je crois vraiment la poésie anglaise supérieure à la française et à l'italienne" (62) ; he acknowledged, however, that he made this statement on the strength of "fragments"; he must have been very struck with the little he had read. At the beginning of March, same year, he wrote to a friend : "Jusqu'à l'hiver prochain, j'aurai toujours ou Milton, ou Dryden, ou Gray, ou Thomson dans ma poche. Cela me console de bien des choses (63) ; soon after, to his intimate, Virieu : "Voilà où j'en suis, n'ayant pas le courage d'écrire deux lignes de suite, plongé tous les jours dans les idées les plus sombres, ou me récréant avec quelques auteurs anglais comme Ossian, Young et Shakespeare (64). During these years of depression, Lamartine communicated, again to Virieu, that he couldn't even translate "les touchantes tragédies d'Otway, le Racine anglais", without moistening the paper with his tears (65). In his old age, he favoured Gibbon ; according to P. de Saint-Victor, who saw a lot of him, Lamartine read only three works, one being Gibbon (66), and those only to send him to sleep ! But as a young man he preferred English poetry ; "je traduis de l'anglais : quelques "Nuits" de Young" (67); he loved Ossian. In 1808 he told a friend that, having lately read "Ossian" and not knowing what to do with himself, he had versified an episode that appealed to him—that of an old man weeping for his dead dog (68) ; forty years later, he spoke of lonely winter rides on horseback during which he, like Ossian, evoked the shades and, like Fingal, affectionately gazed at the clouds (69); he never forgot Ossian, and his first impressions lost little of their ancient power. In his "Confidences" he poetically related his love for that poet : "Ce qui me passionnait par-dessus tout, c'étaient les poètes..... Parmi ces poètes... les poètes modernes... : le Tasse, le Dante, Pétrarque, Shakespeare, Milton. Chateaubriand..., Ossian (70) surtout, ce poète du vague, ce brouillard de l'imagination, cette plainte inarticulée des mers du Nord, cette écume des

(62) "Correspondance", 3rd March 1810.

(63) *Ibidem*, 10th March 1810.

(64) *Ibid.*, 24th March 1811.

(65) *Ibid.*, 21st May 1811.

(66) "Journal des Goncourt", entry of 17th Oct. 1876.

(67) "Correspondance", 30th Sept. 1810.

(68) *Ibidem*, 1808, He added "Je veux que mon premier chien s'appelle "Gorban" comme le sien".

(69) *Ibid.*, 4th Nov. 1848, to Dargaud.

(70) "Confidences", ed. of 1877, p. 117 ; i. e. livre VI, sec. 5.

grèves, ce gémissement des ombres, ce roulis des nuages autour des pics tempêteux de l'Ecosse, ce Dante septentrional aussi grand, aussi majestueux, aussi surnaturel que le Dante de Florence, plus sensible que lui, et qui arrache souvent à ses fantômes des cris plus humains et plus déchirants que ceux des héros d'Homère". He steeped himself in this spring of aesthetic delight and emotional sympathy : "Je m'abimai dans cet océan d'ombres..., de larmes..., et d'images dont l'immensité, le demi-jour et la tristesse correspondaient si bien à la mélancolie grandiose d'une âme de seize ans qui ouvre ses premiers rayons sur l'infini" (71), Ossian appealed to him all the more because he read him in a melancholy season of the year and amid wild scenery (72). "Ossian", he continued, "est certainement une des palettes où mon imagination a broyé le plus de couleurs, et qui a laissé le plus de ses teintes sur les faibles ébauches que j'ai tracées depuis" (73) ; in 1845 an able critic (74) remarked : "Il y a dans Lamartine de l'Ossian, mais il y a aussi de l'Young et du Fénelon". Byron also profoundly influenced him. Even in manners, for one of his friends (75) tells us that a certain photo taken before 1827 failed to render his expression because he had imitated Byron's pose, coiffure and careless neck-wear. Aimé Martin in an 1831 letter to Lamartine observed that Lainé had said : "Il a beaucoup de Byron! C'est un ange qui a étudié le Diable" (76) ! When an old man, Lamartine kept in his study a portrait of Byron (77) ; it had probably been there for years. His affection for the English poet had endured from the days when he composed the famous poem to Byron : in 1844 he told Pelletan that he preferred one stanza of Byron or Sappho to Molière, La Fontaine and Béranger (78).

While Ossian's influence on Lamartine's poetry was neglected by the Romantic press and memoirists, Byron's influence was frequently noted. In 1823 Stendhal (79) said of Lamartine,

(71) "Confidences", p. 118.

(72) *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

(73) *Ibid.*, p. 119.

(74) C. B. F. (i. e. Frayssé) in his "Coup d'œil sur la littérature au XIX^e siècle" in the review, "Echo de la littérature", 1845.

(75) Le comte de Puymaigre : "Lamartine. Souvenirs particuliers", 1873, p. 5. These valuable recollections originally figured in the "Mémoires de l'Académie de Metz" of 1872-1873.

(76) "Lettres à Lamartine", 20th Jan. 1831.

(77) Ch. Alexandre : "Souvenirs sur Lamartine", 1884.

(78) *Ibidem*, entry of 16th-17th May 1844.

(79) "Correspondance de Stendhal", 29th Dec. 1821.

"C'est lord Byron peigné à la française", and three years later an anonymous critic remarked that he seemed to have made a profound study of the author of "Don Juan", and that in his poetry one often found thoughts borrowed from him (80). At his reception into the Academy, Cuvier in his speech instituted a happy and delicate analogy between him and Byron, "qui a, comme on sait, inspiré à l'auteur des "Méditations", les plus beaux vers, peut-être, qui soient sortis de sa plume" (81). The same year, it was said that "M. de Lamartine a notoirement imité quelquefois lord Byron" (82). Jules Janin advanced an interesting view : Lamartine understood Byron, and penetratingly judged that it was necessary to counterbalance this foreign poet and to his lyrical atheism to oppose Christian beliefs conveyed in verse (83). That is ingenious but not tenable : the French poet, fascinated by the picturesque genius of the English poet, reproduced his "atmosphere" and his lyrical manner ; Lamartine himself led for many years an eventful and pretty mundane life, and he was more attracted than repelled by the satanic element. That he didn't as a rule practise the satanic genre, we admit, though it cropped up in the "Chute d'un ange"; but neither did he prosecute a systematic campaign against it.

Byron's share in the English influence on his poetry may best be shown by a short examination of the separate publications. In 1821, R. evidently referred to the "Méditations poétiques" (first series) when he wrote : "Parmi les admirations que le poète anglais excita en France, il faut placer en premier rang l'imposant suffrage de M. Lamartine. Il rendit le plus bel hommage à lord Byron, en paraissant le choisir pour son modèle" (84). But the splendid homage consisted not in appearing to imitate Byron but in actually doing so. In the "Nouvelles Méditations" two influences were signalised by contemporaries ; those of Young and Byron. Léon Thiessé felt that the philosophy pervading these poems had much in common with Young's (85); Stendhal remarked : "J'ai lu plusieurs des pièces qui composent le nouveau volume de M. de Lamartine. C'est toujours une imita-

(80) "Courrier des théâtres", 11th Aug. 1826.

(81) "Revue encyclopédique", April 1830, in his account of the ceremony.

(82) "Revue française", July 1830, in article "De la Poésie fugitive".

(83) "Journal des Débats", 5th April 1830.

(84) *Ibidem*, 23rd April 1821, review of Chastopalli's trans. of Byron.

(85) "Revue encyclopédique", Nov. 1823, p. 336.

tion du ton de lord Byron. Seulement, le poète français, quoique né d'une famille noble,... ne fait pas paraître l'orgueil et la misanthropie aristocratique du "nobleman" anglais. La sensibilité de M. de Lamartine est, au contraire, douce et profonde" (86) ; an anonymous writer says for 1823 : "M. de Lamartine a publié dans le cours de cette année de "Nouvelles Méditations poétiques" et la "Mort de Socrate"; ce sont encore des chants lugubres dans le genre d'Young et de lord Byron" (87). Of the latter work, the author himself wrote : "C'est coupé par couplets comme Byron. Je crois qu'il n'y a pas moyen de soutenir l'épique autrement" (88). Two years later appeared Lamartine's most thorough-going imitation of Byron, in thought, atmosphere and theme. Edmond Géraud attributed to an over-exact imitation of the Byronic manner the defects that (according to an unsigned article, rightly) he found in "Le dernier chant du pèlerinage d'Harold" (89) ; Cuvillier-Fleury (90), rather a reactionary, called this poem "a brilliant postscript, painfully attached to Byron's admirable epic ; a patch of purple sewn on a cloth of gold" ; Mme L. Swanton-Belloc (91) conceded that it was risky and very difficult to continue and, what is more, to complete Byron's work, but she thought that though Lamartine did not always rise to the necessary level, he often approached it, and she claimed that nobody else would have done so well ; and the French poet has himself told us about "Le dernier chant de Childe Harold" in the following valuable passage (92) : "C'était un pastiche sérieux..., faisant suite à ce chef-d'œuvre. L'entreprise était téméraire ; j'osais, pour ainsi dire, me déclarer ainsi le continuateur du premier barde des temps modernes, dans une langue qui n'était pas la sienne. J'avais tort. J'étais digne d'admirer et de pleurer ce grand homme : je n'étais pas digne de me mesurer ainsi, à armes inégales, avec son ombre. Le faire parler c'était prendre l'engagement de l'égaliser. Je n'en étais pas capable ; la poésie me trompait". But, says Lamartine, the poem proved very popular in France : people recognised its Byronic

(86) "Correspondance de Stendhal", 6th March 1823.

(87) "Annuaire historique universel" for 1823, in the "Revue" section.

(88) "Correspondance de Lamartine", 15th Feb. 1823, to Virieu.

(89) "Annales de la littérature", 1825, XX, 90.

(90) "Journal des Débats", 8th July 1837.

(91) "Revue encyclopédique", May 1825, p. 555.

(92) "A. de Lamartine par lui-même", 1892, p. 236 (i. e. 4th Book, section XXVII).

note. In 1830 came the "Harmonies", in which Charles Nodier, delicately implied (93) the influence of "the Lake Poets" ; he thought that they were partly responsible for the "murmure harmonieux" of these poems. Two years before the publication of "Jocelyn" in 1836, G. Planche (94) said that he expected to see "l'alliance heureuse et féconde du réalisme de Crabbe et du lyrisme de Wordsworth" and added that he meant not particular imitation but general inspiration : shortly after this long narrative poem was issued, Sainte-Beuve declared that Crabbe's genre has in "Jocelyn" gone a step further than his own efforts in this kind of poetry (95). Internal evidence corroborates these two influences, which are very obvious. In "La Chute d'un ange" (1838) two other orientations were clearly seen : "Quelques-uns des passages les meilleurs sont évidemment des imitations, des réminiscences, soit du "Paradis perdu" de Milton, soit des "Amours des anges" de Th. Moore" (96) ; another critic, having, like many at the time, noticed the two sources, found in "La Chute" all the inferiority of an imitation to an original (97), but in justice to Lamartine we must assert that his poem, though much inferior to "Paradise Lost", was as much superior to "The Loves of the Angels", which represents an essentially Byronic influence, for Moore had here followed very closely in his friend's tracks.

At this point it should be mentioned that Lamartine, though no great dramatist, composed two plays bearing a deep English imprint. To Virieu in 1818 he said (98), of the work that was published many years later, that one of the acts was Shakespearean and that another would, if possible, be Racinian ; his fifth act was to be pure Shakespeare (99). Of his tragedy, "Toussaint Louverture", written in 1849 and played a year later, "tout le quatrième acte ancien, shakespearien par le mouvement, la vie sauvage, une vraie Kermesse de Noirs, fut supprimé" (100) (on the advice of Frédérick Lemaître, the most celebrated French actor of the day). But as historian and an novelist, so

(93) "La Quotidienne", 10th July 1830.

(94) "Revue des Deux Mondes", 1st March 1834 (in "Royautés littéraires").

(95) "Le Livre d'or de Sainte-Beuve" (1904), letter to Villemain in 1837.

(96) "Revue critique des livres nouveaux", June 1838, review of the poem.

(97) "Le Constitutionnel", 16th May 1838, feuilleton by L. R.

(98) In his "Correspondance", letter of 23rd Jan. 1818.

(99) "Correspondance de Lamartine", letter of 6th Jan. 1818.

(100) Alexandre : "Souvenirs sur Lamartine".

far as external evidence tells us, Lamartine owed no particulars to English literature, though he may have derived a general idea therefrom. In all his works, he made no attempt to hide an orientation or an imitation : he declared his debts, and published no verbose denials of the borrowings noted in the press. And, as we have seen, his borrowings were numerous and important.

Victor Hugo, like Lamartine, had a high opinion of England; "France et Angleterre", he wrote after his exile, "sont pour moi un seul peuple" (101). But though he lived eight years in the Channel Islands, he knew scarcely a word of English (102). Nor did he know much about the literature ; Paul Stapfer has asked : "A-t-il aimé..., a-t-il seulement connu la littérature allemande ? Il n'y paraît guère, et j'ose mettre en doute qu'il ait beaucoup plus pratiqué la littérature anglaise" (103). Yet he had the reputation for being an authority on some matters appertaining thereto (104). For Shakespeare he professed and had a great admiration, though Stapfer called in doubt any profound knowledge in this respect (105) ; it is clear, however, that his cult for him was not observed purely on trust, for he once acknowledged that he saw defects in the English dramatist but preferred not to speak of them : "D'ailleurs, je suis un fanatique. Je ne suis pas de ceux qui disent : "Quandque bonus dormitat Homerus...". J'admire tout dans Homère, dans Shakespeare et dans la Bible" (106). On the walls of Hauteville House he had inscribed the name of Shakespeare (107) ; he seems, indeed, to have discussed the plays and their author more during his exile than at any other time ; it was then that he said : "On ne dépassera ni Eschyle, ni Shakespeare" (108). But he had been known before that as an enthusiast (109). It was in Shakespeare as dramatist that he took a special interest : "Tout le théâtre anglais est dans Shakespeare... Depuis Shakespeare, rien"; "au théâtre, c'est le cri de l'homme... que nous voulons entendre... terrible dans

(101) "Correspondance de V. Hugo" (2 voll., 1896-1898), II, June 1877 to Tennyson.

(102) Paul Stapfer : "Victor Hugo à Guernesey. Souvenirs personnels", 1905.

(103) *Ibidem*, p. 45.

(104) "Correspondance", 14th April 1840 to Jules Lacroix.

(105) Stapfer, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(106) *Ibid.*, 166-167.

(107) A. Lecanu : "Chez Victor Hugo", 1864.

(108) "Un manuscrit inédit de Victor Hugo. Les propos de table du poète en exil", 1892.

(109) "Le Satan", 7th Jan. 1844, passage on Hugo.

Shakespeare quand il sort du milieu des catastrophes" : he made those statements in important speeches (110). But it was as genius that he admired him most, and in his old age he kept fresh his memory and cult for the great dramatist : in a manifesto to Parisians in 1870 he quoted Shakespeare ; in 1874, in the memoir written in honour of his sons, he remarked of F. V. Hugo, the translator of the English dramatist : "Il sait que ce grand homme de l'Angleterre est un des grands hommes du genre humain tout entier, et que servir cette gloire, c'est servir la civilisation même" ; in a speech made after the hundredth performance of one of his own plays, in 1879, he declared that "toute l'Angleterre s'exprime par ce mot : "Shakespeare" (111) ; and in "Postscriptum de ma vie" he has in his brief study "Shakespeare" paid his finest tribute, from which we may quote the passage : "Shakespeare, c'est le sauvage ivre? Oui, sauvage ! c'est l'habitant de la forêt vierge ; oui, ivre ! c'est le buveur d'idéal. C'est le géant sous les branchages immenses ; c'est celui qui tient la grande coupe d'or et qui a dans les yeux la flamme de toute cette lumière qu'il boit. Shakespeare... est un des omnipotents de la pensée et de la poésie, qui, adéquats, pour ainsi dire, au Tout mystérieux, ont la profondeur même de la création, et qui, comme la création, traduisent et trahissent extérieurement cette profondeur par une profusion de formes et d'images, jetant en dehors les ténèbres en fleurs, en feuillages et en sources vives" (112). And all this intense and enduring admiration for Shakespeare had been firmly established by the visit of the English actors in 1827 : "Ces admirables drames admirablement joués, remuèrent profondément M. Victor Hugo", as his wife informs us (113). He more than esteemed Milton (114), whose broad sweep, magnificent imagery, and organ-note must have deeply impressed him. Ossian was familiar ; in 1820 he published "Les Derniers bardes, poème ossianique" (115). Byron won his ardent suffrage ; and as early as 1824 he spoke of himself thus : "Une sympathie... nous entraînait vers

(110) The former in 1849 before the Conseil d'Etat, re the liberty of the theatres ; the latter in 1845 at the Academy. See Hugo's "Avant l'exil".

(111) For these three details see Hugo's "Depuis l'exil".

(112) Hugo : "Postscriptum de ma vie", 1901 ; in the "Grands hommes" part of the book.

(113) "Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie".

(114) See passim the "Postscriptum".

(115) In "Le Conservateur littéraire", I, 281 (i. e. March 1820).

Byron. Ce n'était pas certainement l'attrait que le génie inspire au génie ; c'était du moins un sentiment sincère d'admiration, d'enthousiasme et de reconnaissance" (116) ; fifteen years after, he mentioned how impressed he was at seeing Byron's name inscribed on a pillar (117). Hugo read and admired Scott, and he soon demonstrated his indebtedness in a rather curious way ; having quoted from the preface to "Han d'Islande", an anonymous reviewer remarked : "On voit par cette phrase, un peu longue..., que l'auteur a voulu imiter le style des introductions de sir Walter Scott " (118).

As a poet, Victor Hugo was moderately influenced by English literature. Among his earliest poems, those written 1815-1818, he composed some imitations of Ossian (119). In the first years of publication, he displayed a talent "dans le genre de celui de Young... toujours exagéré à froid", according to Stendhal (120) in 1823 : no other criticism has so aptly and tersely characterised his 1822 "Odes" and "Nouvelles Odes". In the latter volumes figured several passages distinctly reminiscent of Milton (121). In 1829 saw the appearance of "Les Orientales", in which "Mazeppa " was probably inspired by Byron's poem of that title, though the two pieces differ tremendously (122) : the English poet has told a story, the French poet embroiders the central idea with rhetorical philosophy. The "Feuilles d'Automne" (1831) expressed something of Byronic despair (123).

After that date he owed very little to England in his poetry : his debt in that branch was much smaller than Lamartine's.

Smaller than de Vigny's too. The author of "Eloa" was an Anglophile ; even before he, like Lamartine and de Tocqueville, married an English girl, he spoke the language a little ; all in all, he spent some time in Great Britain. In 1836 he wrote from the outskirts of London : "John Bull est en gaieté... Je connais à

(116) "La Muse française", June 1824, in his 12-page article on Byron.

(117) "Victor Hugo et Louis Boulanger (Documents inédits)", ed. by L. Séché, in "La Revue", 1st Jan 1912, and reprinted in the "Annales Romantiques" of that year.

(118) "La Pandore", 31st July 1823.

(119) "Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie".

(120) In his "Correspondance", 1st Jan. 1823.

(121) "Mercure du xix^e siècle", 1824, V, 299-300. The poems of the 'twenties frequently had English epigraphs.

(122) "Ernest Fouinet et Les Orientales", by R. Martineau, in the "Mercure de France", 16th June 1916 ; Fouinet's letter of 2nd July 1829 to Hugo.

(123) "Revue européenne", early 1832, review of this volume. Note E. Rigal's "Victor Hugo et Byron", in the "Revue d'histoire littéraire", 1907.

fond à présent ses sentiments, ses idées et sa vie. Je fais mes provisions de remarques" (124). Théodore de Banville (125) relates that De Vigny wrote an English hand and dressed with "une élégance anglaise", while in 1835 he himself observed that he had acquired the habit of silence from his long residence in England and from his relations with English people in both their country and his (126). He met Scott (127), who esteemed him almost as much in return (128). Concerning general influence of English literature on his work, Arsène Houssaye (129) has cried: "N'a-t-il pas marqué l'histoire dans ses romans, comme Walter Scott ? N'a-t-il pas, dans son théâtre, réveillé la voix de Shakespeare ?" That quotation indicates his importance : before 1830 he had given the lead to French dramatists in the capable treatment of Shakespeare on the stage by causing to be played and published a work that is both a translation and an adaptation; while in "Cinq-Mars" he had produced the best and first really notable historical novel of the 'twenties, Mérimée's "Chronique" and Hugo's "Notre-Dame-de-Paris" following within five years of its appearance. It is well-known that he had a competent knowledge and a deep admiration of English literature, so we need illustrate but briefly. Much impressed with Shakespeare's plays, he did as much as anybody to promote in France the fame of the English dramatist, to whom he alluded frequently in his letters ; some of his quotations were very apt (130). Milton he read and admired (131). Young he thoroughly enjoyed (132) ; Chatterton he viewed not only with the psychological and doctrinaire interest with which he invested "Stello" and "Chatterton" but as an outstanding poet, some of whose pieces he translated for his own private satisfaction (133).

In his poems, de Vigny showed a general influence and

(124) "Mercure de France", 1st July 1916, P. Bonnefon's "Lettres et fragments inédits d'Alfred de Vigny"; letter of 18th Aug. to A. Deschamps.

(125) "Mes Souvenirs" (1882), ch. IV.

(126) In his "Correspondance" (1905), at date 1853 to the vicomtesse de Plessis.

(127) "Journal d'un poète" (1867), Coll. Nelson Fr. édition, pp. 211-213.

(128) "Journal d'un poète. Fragments inédits", ed. by F. Gregh in the "R. des Deux Mondes" of 15th Dec. 1920 ; see entry of May 1829.

(129) "Souvenirs de jeunesse", 1896.

(130) See e. g. "Lettres inédites d'Alfred de Vigny au mis et à la mise de La Grange" (1914), letter of 10th Dec. 1841.

(131) "Correspondence de Vigny", at dates 17th Sept. 1839 and 30th July 1848.

(132) "Correspondance", 3rd April 1829.

(133) *Ibidem*, 26th June 1839, to the translators of C.

several particular orientations. As Philarète Chasles was the first to perceive, he expressed in his work "quelque chose de l'observation élégiaque et de la contemplation assidue et délicate du génie anglais" (131); and an even keener critic wrote in 1835 : "Les sources extérieures du talent poétique de M. de Vigny, si on les recherche bien, furent la Bible, Homère... par le miroir d'André Chénier, Dante peut-être, Milton, Klopstock, Ossian, Moore..., mais tout cela plus ou moins lointain et croisé, tout cela surtout fondu et absorbé goutte à goutte dans une organisation concentrée, fine et puissante" (135). Sainte-Beuve should have added Shakespeare, whose "Othello" and, in part, "Romeo and Juliet", de Vigny had translated previous to that date : much of the English dramatist must have filtered into his work. He should have mentioned also Byron (136), for the less acute Dumas père, having remarked that Byron had made fashionable "de charmants petits poèmes", immediately stated that de Vigny composed five or six pieces of the same sort among which he included "Eloa" and "Dolorida" (137). Dumas was right in his implication that these productions bore the imprint of Byron, but the English poet wrote nothing quite so good in their kind as these two poems. "Eloa", as a matter of fact, provided an appetising morsel for contemporary source-seekers. Toussenel (138) said of the Satan : "C'est un diable tout moderne, Satan civilisé, tristement beau comme l'homme de Byron". Auguste Barbier (who calls the author "un talent aristocratique, une sorte de Tennyson français") claimed (139) that de Vigny would never have written "Eloa" if Moore hadn't published "The Loves of the Angels" and thereby unconsciously attributed part of that honour to Byron, whose supernatural pieces so greatly influenced Moore ; another critic (140) said that the French poem would never have seen the light of day had it not been for Moore's work and Klopstock's "Messiad" ; A. Desplaces (141), on the other hand, flatly denied

(134) "Journal des Débats", 11th July 1840 (in the feuilleton).

(135) "Revue des Deux Mondes", 15th Oct. 1835, p. 217, Sainte-Beuve in article on de V.

(136) For internal evidence, see Estève : "Byron et le Romantisme français"; E. Dupuy : "La Jeunesse des Romantiques" (1905); also E. Dupuy's "Origines littéraires d'Alfred de Vigny" in the "Revue d'histoire littéraire", 1903, and J. Langlais's article with same title in the "Annales Romantiques", 1906.

(137) Dumas : "Mémoires", XIV, 63.

(138) "Le Temps", 15th June 1835.

(139) In his "Souvenirs personnels".

(140) "Revue française", July 1830, in article, "De la Poésie fugitive".

(141) "L'Artiste", 14th March 1847, in article on de V.

orientation by Moore, but his was a rash assertion, contradicted by internal as well as external evidence ; and Cornudet (142) wrote to Montalembert in 1829, about the speeches made by Satan to Eloa : "C'est admirable, c'est du Milton", and concerning the whole poem : "Tous les trésors de la poésie orientale y sont déployés. Je ne conanis dans ce genre que Thomas Moore". That Byron, Moore and Milton were responsible for much in "Eloa", few students of comparative literature would care to oppose, but it must be borne in mind that too much importance has been assigned to Moore, not enough to Byron, and not nearly enough to Milton. Yet de Vigny has put his own personality very powerfully into this poem, and has made it far more of an original work than an imitation : in other words, he has thoroughly assimilated his sources and used them in a legitimate and arresting fashion. Much remains to be done for "Les Destinées", which represents de Vigny the philosopher ; one may doubt, however, if any notable influence by English literature will, except by too-imaginative critics, there be found.

Gérard de Nerval, on the contrary, owed very little to England, which he visited three or four times (143). We learn from Champfleury (144) that he went to several countries, including England, solely to study pantomime as acted there. He was familiar with Shakespeare, as we see by this passage from the pen of Hippolyte Lucas (145) : "Gérard chercha à me prouver que les esprits revenaient, témoin le père d'Hamlet, et qu'il y avait, comme dit Shakespeare, plus de choses qu'on ne pense entre le ciel et la terre". In a letter (146) of 1831 de Nerval referred to "Lara, tragédie en un acte (600 vers)", which written in collaboration with Maquet, (1847) probably derived, in part at least, from Byron's poem so called. Moreover, his articles (748) in "L'Artiste" of 1843-1848 show a pretty general knowledge of English literature. But he was so independent, so original, so

(142) See Montalembert et Cornudet : "Lettres à un amide collègue" (enlarged edition of 1884), at date 9th April 1829.

(143) See passim his "Correspondance", ed. by J. Marsan, 1911 ; also his "Nuits d'octobre".

(144) "Souvenirs des Funambules", 1859.

(145) "Souvenirs littéraires" (1890), p. 54.

(146) "Correspondance" at that year.

(147) G. Simon : "Histoire d'une collaboration Alexandre Dumas et Auguste Maquet", 1919, p. 14. They withdrew the piece from the Odéon before production.

(148) Aristide Marie, in his excellent book on de Nerval, 1914, quotes often from "Le Monde dramatique" (1835-1841), in which appeared many of his articles.

imaginative, that he had no need and little inclination to draw on foreign sources (his attention to German literature confined itself almost completely to straight-out translations) ; moreover, though Romantic in spirit, he tended rather to the Classic in form.

Alfred de Musset, however, was very open to external influence. He began his literary career by translating De Quincey's "Opium-Eater" in 1828 ; Ch. Asselineau (149) set this version down as "libre, hâtive et bien médiocre", but one couldn't expect much as the translator was only a boy when he did it. He came to have a very useful knowledge of the English language, which frequently provided him with words and phrases in his letters (150). Perhaps his favourite English writer was Shakespeare, to whom he referred very often in his correspondence ; to him the dramatist was "le divin Shakespeare". In 1827 he declared (151) to Paul Foucher that if he wrote he would want to be Shakespeare or Schiller and said that he would give a lot to have one of the former's dramas with him in English. All his life he admired immensely and was influenced considerably by him : "Un homme qui fut bien de la famille de Hugo et de Shakespeare, c'est Alfred de Musset", observed Arsène Houssaye (152). In the late 'thirties he contributed a few articles to the "Revue des Deux Mondes", and, whenever he got the chance, he put in a good word for Shakespeare. He admired Shakespeare more than he did Byron, though as a young man he was more influenced by the latter. Now, in 1846 the pseudonymous Demain, who was really Paul Meurice, said that de Musset, while copying more pages than one from Shakespeare and Byron, affected to love only the tragedy of Voltaire (153). But he did not in his letters dissimulate his liking for those two writers, whom he, like de Vigny, assimilated rather than intentionally imitated (154). A. Desplaces thought it only natural that de Musset, a young man, should have been influenced by

(149) In his "Bibliographie romantique. Catalogue anecdotique et pittoresque", 2 voll., 1872, at section on M.

(150) "Correspondance d'Alfred de Musset, ed. by L. Séché, 1907.

(151) "Correspondance", at 23rd Sept. 1827.

(152) "Mes Confessions", III.

(153) "L'Epoque", 23rd May 1846 (in no. 7 of the "Feuilletons de l'an quarante").

(154) H. Fortoul held this opinion : "R. des D. Mondes", Sept. 1834, article on "Spectacle dans un Fauteuil".

them (155) ; J. Chaudesaigues was reproached with insisting too much on his debt to the "splendides figures de Regnier, de Byron, de Shakespeare, ou de Goethe" (156), while Arsène Hous-saye (157) wrote : "Alfred de Musset, cet esprit tout français, avait aussi çà et là l'humour de lord Byron et de lord Lytton. Son esprit mordait à vif". We very much doubt whether his humour or wit owed anything to Edward Bulwer Lytton : these qualities differed greatly in the two men. To Byron, however, he was much indebted. Having read the English poet at a most impressionable age, he absorbed his "atmosphere", even some of his mannerisms. Audebrand (158) spoke of him as "le beau jeune homme blond que la génération de 1830 avait voulu faire passer pour un Byron de Paris" ; the mordant H. de Latouche one day described him as "Byron monté en épingle" (159) ; "Précourt a pu spirituellement appeler Musset Mlle Byron" (160) ; a fellow-poet, N. Peyrat (161), defined him as "un voltairien, atteint de la mélancolie de Byron" ; D'Alton Shée, one of his boon companions (162), allowed his friendship to bias his judgment when he said that de Musset didn't imitate Byron but would have liked to be the English poet (163).

In his poetry, Alfred de Musset showed clearly enough the Byronic influence, especially in "Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie" and "Spectacle dans un fauteuil". The two poets must have had in common something that struck their contemporaries ; for instance Jules de Goncourt said "Don Juan" seemed written by de Musset, "mais Musset buvant du gin" (164). By a fusion of Byron's emotional manner and the old French wit, he formed a new kind of fantasy (165) ; "chaque poète... a une source d'inspiration qu'il préfère... Pour M. de Musset, cette source divine et préférée, c'est le désir, tel que Goethe et Byron l'ont su peindre, sublime, insatiable, infini" (166). Of the youthful "Contes

(155) "L'Artiste", 21st Feb. 1847.

(156) *Ibidem*, mid-June 1841, article by U. Ladet.

(157) "Mes Confessions", V.

(158) "Petits Mémoires du XIX^e siècle", p. 257.

(159) *Ibidem*, 289.

(160) Edward Grenier : "Souvenirs littéraires" (1894), circa p. 53.

(161) "Béranger et Lamennais... Souvenirs", near beginning.

(162) See L. Séché : "La Jeunesse dorée sous Louis-Philippe".

(163) D'Alton Shée : "Mes Mémoires", 2 voll., 1869.

(164) "Lettres de Jules de Goncourt" (1885) at 26th June 1849.

(165) "L'Artiste", 5th Sept. 1847, N. Martin and P. Malitourne in article "Les Poètes français contemporains. Introduction".

(166) "Revue de Paris", Oct. 1840, in the "critique littéraire".

d'Italie et d'Espagne", J. Chaudes-Aigues (167) remarked that "ce petit livre, bien que rempli d'imitations de toute espèce, bien qu'évidemment écrit sous les influences successives de Byron, de Mérimée, de Victor Hugo et bien d'autres, fit pourtant un grand bruit" : the criticism was just, though not precise enough, for Byron's influence pervaded the whole volume ; often it operated alone, at other times it mingled with Mérimée's and Hugo's. In the comedies included in the "Spectacle dans un fauteuil" the influence of Shakespeare was potent : "les merveilleuses comédies fantastiques [de Shakespeare] frappèrent vivement l'esprit mobile de M. Alfred de Musset", said Chaudesaigues (168), "toutes les comédies que renferment ces deux volumes ne sont, à proprement parler, que des pastiches. On y retrouve les admirables types de femmes créés par Shakespeare : Rosalinde, Béatrice, Catherine... Les caractères de héros de M. de Musset ne sont pas copiés avec une préméditation moins évidente ni plus scrupuleuse. Octave et Cœlio ressemblent trop à Orlando et à Proteo pour qu'il soit possible de se méprendre... Qui a lu "Comme il vous plaira" demeure convaincu que M. de Musset n'a trouvé son Fantasio que dans la belle création de Jacques" (169). Internal evidence proves that Chaudesaigues was in the main right in his criticism, though several contemporaries were justified in pointing out that the general impression one received from reading these comedies (170) was that of charming freshness. Of the poems in the "Spectacle", L. H. (one of many that made a similar observation) wrote : "Quant à la pensée abstraite et intime..., c'est encore du Byron, du désespoir..... C'est la traduction des esprits au temps de Byron (171). In 1833 the "Journal des Débats" published a definitive refutation (172) of would-be defendants of complete originality in Musset's poems issued up till that date : "Byron is the poet that the author... has taken as model. Byron is a great master for everybody... but let us not hide our predilections and especially

(167) "R. des D. Mondes", March 1837, in essay on M.

(168) The name is spelt both with and without a hyphen.

(169) Article already noted.

(170) I need hardly say that the comedies are here mentioned for their poetical aspect.

(171) "L'Artiste", Oct. or Nov. 1832, review of the "Spectacle". (The copy I used gives no exact date).

(172) "J. des Débats" 28th July 1833, review of the "Spectacle", "Naimona", etc.

our little borrowings. In the preface to his work,... M. de Musset, denying any close connection with the English poet, cries :

“ On m’a dit que j’imitais Byron,
Vous qui me connaissez, vous savez bien que non ”.

We haven’t the honour of knowing M. de Musset,... but we certainly don’t share his friend’s opinion. At each page of M. de Musset’s writings, we find an assiduous and persevering imitation of the noble lord. Byron has passed through almost every production of M. de Musset, and, let it be said, has left there quite often some obvious and flagrant traces..... Our poet has set himself to ape Byron, to constitute himself his train-bearer. ” “ *Namouna* ” was involved in that passage ; and rightly, for nowhere had de Musset more closely reproduced the atmosphere and manner of “*Don Juan*” : in the words of Alfred Desessarts (173), “là se trouve développée toute la manière du “*Don Juan*” de Byron ”. And in 1856 Edmond Rousse, after a careful re-reading of the English writer, gave it as his deliberate opinion that de Musset, no matter what he may have said on the subject, had taken much from him (174). External evidence sides with Rousse, an impartial and able critic ; and internal evidence merely strengthens one’s conviction that de Musset in his poems was greatly indebted to Byron for atmosphere and manner, and considerably to Shakespeare in the comedies viewed purely and simply as poetry. But we must not be misled into thinking that he was merely a Byron or a Shakespeare “à la française”, because, for all his borrowings, he remained an arresting and charming poet, much more original than not.

A lesser poet than de Musset, Sainte-Beuve attracted considerable attention in his day by his poems. For England and the English he had a deep regard. As his disciple, Jules Troubat (175), reminds us : “Il tenait d’origine anglaise, par le côté maternel,... et ce n’était pas la seule transmission héréditaire de [Boulogne], son lieu de naissance international. Son goût pour les poètes lakistes, traduits ou imités par lui, témoignait assez de ce don particulier qui lui faisait une double patrie. Il aurait

(173) “*La France littéraire*”, Dec. 1832, article on M.

(174) Rousse’s “*Lettres à un ami* (1855-1870)” in “*Le Correspondant*”, new series, no. 187, p. 46 (i. e. mid-1906).

(175) “*Sainte-Beuve intime et familier*”, 1903. This plaquette of 31 pages is very entertaining.

aimé, disait-il, être Anglais et vivre à Paris". His grandmother was English, and he ventured the statement : "Je voudrais être Anglais, un Anglais est au moins quelqu'un" (176). Often he pointed an argument with an allusion to English history or literature (177). In 1868 he wrote (178) : "Je suis, en effet, grand partisan de la littérature anglaise : je crois que la posséder, dans quelques-unes de ses branches au moins, serait une grande avance, une leçon pour nos romanciers et nos poètes.... C'est ne voler que d'une aile que de ne pas savoir directement la société anglaise, le monde anglais" ; in 1850 he told a youthful aspirant to poetic fame that if he knew English, he'd have a treasure-trove on which to draw, for English poetry was saner, more complete, and in short much superior to French (179). One of his correspondents, Hortense Allart de Méritens (180), was conversant with English literature, on which she frequently made valuable observations in her letters. In 1863 he told Matthew Arnold (181), whom he later met in Paris (182), that he would like to have the time to go thoroughly into the writings of Keats, Shelley and Godwin, but that he perforce contented himself with "divining, suspecting and passing by". Many years earlier he related (183) to his friend Charles Labitte how he had in 1828 spent two months near Oxford in an attractive rural district that tallied so well with the fresh descriptions of the English poets, and advised him to enjoy himself there and to read "these delightful poets". For the poetry he had, indeed, a special affection : when an old man, he called it the richest in modern Europe (184) ; when a youth at college he had come to know the work of Milton and Young and, a little later, Shakespeare (185). And for all English literature he felt a deep interest, which may be illustrated by an isolated detail : "I remember", says Ernest Fey-

(176) "Journal des Goncourt", entry of 14th March 1863 for both details (from conversation of S. B. with Taine).

(177) E. g. S. B.'s letter to Huet, 7th Sept. 1859, in "Autour de Victor Hugo" By L. Séché in "La Revue", 15th April 1912.

(178) "Nouvelle correspondance", 2 voll., 1878), at 16th Nov. 1850.

(179) In his "Correspondance" 2 voll., 1878), at 16th Nov. 1850.

(180) See passim her "Lettres inédites à Sainte-Beuve", ed. by L. Séché, 1908.

(181) "French Quarterly", Sept. 1921, pp. 154-155. S. B.'s letter of 25th Jan. 1863.

(182) Letter of 9th May 1866, in "Lettres inédites de Sainte-Beuve [à E. Scherer]" in "La Revue", 1st Jan. 1907.

(183) "Lettres inédites de Sainte-Beuve à Charles Labitte" (ed. by G. San-gnier, 1912) at 5th Sept. 1835.

(184) "Correspondance", II, at 17th Dec. 1867.

(185) "Revue hebdomadaire", July 1916, "Les Petits Carnets de Sainte-Beuve".

deau (186), "that one day Baudelaire took it into his head to attack Shakespeare and to maintain that the dramatist had been "invented" by the critics ; Sainte-Beuve, by no means an enthusiast for Romanticism in his last score years, accepted the challenge and in a moment completely annihilated poor Baudelaire".

So it is hardly astonishing that in his poetry, Sainte-Beuve was profoundly influenced by the English poets, with whom he showed himself akin ; "j'ai trouvé", remarked Cornudet (187) of the "Poésies de Joseph Delorme", "... une de ces âmes malades, une de ces âmes de poète que je ne trouvais jusqu'ici qu'en Angleterre". More definitely still, Auguste Barbier (188) said that Sainte-Beuve had into French poetry introduced English homeliness of theme and treatment. Very marked was the imprint of "the Lake Poets". In 1829, Ch. Magnin (189), one of the ablest critics of the time, said, in his review of the "Joseph Delorme" poems, of the author's sensitively-expressed sympathy with, and personal description and interpretation of Nature : "Pour trouver quelque chose d'analogue, il faut recourir aux Lakistes. Encore Joseph Delorme n'est-il nullement leur imitateur" ; that pronouncement is just, for not only did Sainte-Beuve in writing "imité de..." much rather translate than copy, but the Lakist influence came from a thorough assimilation of the qualities of the English poets concerned. Much later, Lacausade (190), as good a critic as he was a poet, called him "l'initiateur ou plutôt le créateur de la poésie du foyer. Cette poésie intime et domestique, on le sait, a pris naissance chez les lakistes, et c'est d'eux qu'elle nous est venue", through Sainte-Beuve of course. He himself put his debt to them thus metaphorically : "Je n'ai été, poète, qu'un ruisselet de ces beaux lacs poétiques, mélancoliques et doux" (191), and in 1865 he wrote to Roussel : "Je suis heureux d'avoir été pour vous un indicateur vers ces douces et pures régions où je ne suis pas entré moi-même. Je n'ai vu que de loin la terre de Chanaan" (192). Wordsworth

(186) In "Théophile Gautier. Souvenirs intimes", 1874.

(187) Montalembert and Cornudet : *Lettres à un ami de collège*, at date 3rd April 1829.

(188) "Souvenirs personnels".

(189) "Le Globe", 11th April 1829.

(190) "Revue nouvelle", May 1847, article on Crabbe.

(191) "Correspondance", 26th March 1861.

(192) *Ibidem*, 21st May 1865.

was one of his favourites. According to Philarète Chasles (193), he fell under the charm of familiar poetry and tried, not unsuccessfully, to give to French literature a fusion of Wordsworth and Hœlty. He had several points of contact with the former (194) and happily translated some of his sonnets (195); it was not in form, but in the very essence of his genius that Sainte-Beuve followed Wordsworth (196). At least one critic opposed the idea that the French poet was inspired by the English writer to make known this intimate, domestic verse: "à notre avis", declared Chaudesaigues, "rien n'est moins acceptable que cette proposition" (197); Sainte-Beuve's letters would have shaken his confidence. But Crabbe also was a favourite. In 1850, Sainte-Beuve (198) wrote to Saulnier (a poet with Lakist tendencies): "Vous aimez, Monsieur, dans la poésie la réalité et le sentiment: je suis de cette même école. Avez-vous lu le grand Crabbe, notre maître un peu sévère?" ; some thirteen years earlier he had told Villemain of his wish to establish in France the kind of poetry represented by Crabbe (199). He had read and enjoyed Kirke White, and it was perhaps his "imitation" that caused a contemporary reviewer to say: "Nous allons posséder, non pas un imitateur, mais un émule de Kirke White" (200). An article on the "Consolations" (1830) contained the words: "... "la Harpe éolienne", traduction ravissante du poète anglais Coleridge, avec lequel M. Sainte-Beuve a de si remarquables rapports" (201); but he was much more akin with Wordsworth, as he showed in this volume too. "Envisagées poétiquement", observed Planche (202), "les "Consolations" ... sont unies à l' "école des lacs", et en particulier à Wordsworth par une étroite parenté. Sainte-Beuve, comme le poète anglais, ennoblit par la pensée qu'il y mêle, plutôt que par l'expression dont il les décore, les sujets les plus vulgaires, les accidents les plus indifférents de la vie quotidienne". Sainte-Beuve, far from being a great poet,

(193) "Mémoires".

(194) "Revue de Paris", Jan. 1836, "chronique".

(195) *Ibidem*, March 1834, Saint-Chéron's footnote to review of Quinet's "Ahasvérus".

(196) As Chasles noted in the "R. des Deux Mondes", 1839, I, 587.

(197) "R. de Paris", May 1838, article on S. B.

(198) "Correspondance", 16th Nov. 1850.

(199) G. Vauthier to "Villemain" (1913), letter of S. B.

(200) "Le Globe", 26th March 1829.

(201) *Ibidem*, 7th May 1830, O. on the volume in question.

(202) "R. des D. Mondes", April 1834, article on S. B.

was very important as the pioneer (203) of "la poésie familière", which numbered among its devotees Lamartine ("Jocelyn") and H. de la Morvonnais. Probably this close observation and artistic treatment of intimate emotion and domestic life considerably influenced him in his novel, "Volupté". Moreover, his fame as a critic must have lent much weight to those passages in which he inculcated or implied a love of intimate, homely verse.

Likewise poet, critic and novelist, Théophile Gautier had a competent knowledge of English literature, as we see by his feuilletons in "La Presse"; a deep admiration for Shakespeare; a weakness, when he was a young man, for Byron. In an article entitled "Les Marionnettes", published in the "Musée des dames et des demoiselles" (204), he displayed a curiously intimate knowledge of certain English writers. In the preface to Derosne's translation of Whyte Melville's "Gladiators", he criticised the English novels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in a way that shows he had not only read widely in this genre but had made a careful study of the authors (205). Neatly indicative of his extensive reading is the following passage taken from one of his "La Presse" feuilletons of 1837, about a melodrama called "Le Corsaire noir": "Ce corsaire n'a aucun rapport avec celui de Cooper, qui est un corsaire *rouge*, ni avec celui de Byron, dont la couleur n'est pas déterminée, ni avec celui du capitaine Marryat, qui change sa couleur selon les événements" (206). Reading of a more literary kind prompted this criticism: "Il est peu de poésies, même chez Byron, Coleridge et Shelley, qui dépassent en magnificence étrange et grandiose les rêves de Quincey" (207). Shakespeare he knew almost minutely, as the references in his "Portraits et souvenirs littéraires" and in the "Souvenirs de théâtre, d'art et de critique" bear witness; in drama, "Shakespeare, Calderon, Lope de Vega, Molière étaient ses hommes" (208). Gautier thought highly of Sterne (209), of

(203) See especially M. A. Smith's "Influence des lakistes sur les romantiques français". Cf. "Revue de littérature comparée", 1921, p. 468.

(204) 15th Nov. 1852; this detail comes from Gautier's "Souvenirs de théâtre, d'art et de critique".

(205) From Gautier's "Souvenirs de théâtre, d'art et de critique", at date 1864.

(206) "La Presse", 21st Aug. 1837.

(207) Gautier: "Portraits et souvenirs littéraires" (1875), ch. on Baudelaire.

(208) E. Feydeau: "Théophile Gautier. Souvenirs intimes".

(209) "Portraits et souvenirs", ch. on G. de Nerval.

Scott and Maturin (210), De Quincey greatly impressed him, the French writer summarising the "Opium" works and eloquently characterising their author (211).

Internal criticism would probably establish a Shakespearean influence on the poetry of Gautier, who in this genre owed a good deal to Byron. Of "Albertus" and "La Comédie de la Mort", Flaubert (212) once said in a comparison between Gautier and de Musset : "Il me semble en résumé, que Gautier a raclé des cordes plus neuves (moins byroniennes) et quant au vers, il est plus consistant". The former work was drenched in Byronism, both of theme and of atmosphere, both of thought and of morality ; when it appeared in 1832, Alfred Dessarts (213) said of its author : "Il est trop de l'école des autres, soit de Byron, soit d'Hoffmann, pas assez de la sienne". Very much his, however, was "Emaux et camées".

Gautier is little known as a writer of plays, but it should be recorded that in his drama, "La Juive de Constantine" (1846), he varied the opiate-device of "Romeo and Juliet" and inserted a detail from "Hamlet" (214). As a critic he was very able, vivid and well-informed. In the feuilletons of "La Presse" he often handled subjects that called for comparisons between French and English literature, and this he did with sure touch and excellent taste ; when he wrote on the foreign literature, he did so with decided sympathy for the matter under consideration (215). But, in his total output, the most striking point is that, though he knew so much about English authors at first hand, he reflected their influence in only two or three productions.

Auguste Barbier, six years Gautier's senior, spent a lot of time in Great Britain and Ireland and liked them exceeding well (216). It seems that he had a tolerable knowledge of the literature, his chief admiration being Shakespeare (217), to whom

(210) "Souvenirs... de critique", from "Chronique de Paris" of 28th Feb. or 3rd May 1836, for both S. and M.; for S., cf. Spoelberch de Lovenjoul's "Histoire des œuvres de Théophile Gautier", I, XVII, §, 15 letter of 22 Aug. 1861.

(217) "Portraits et souvenirs", ch. on Baudelaire, sec 8.

(212) In his "Correspondance", at date 1852 ; vol. II, p. 137.

(213) "La France littéraire", Nov. 1832, revue of "Albertus".

(214) "Le Constitutionnel", 16th Nov. 1846.

(215) For his attitude to Shakespeare, see e. g. "La Presse", 20th Dec. 1847, review of "Hamlet".

(216) "Revue bleue", 8th April 1905, "Lettres d'Alfred de Vigny à Auguste Barbier", letter of 11th March 1849.

(217) Ed. Grenier : "Souvenirs littéraires", p. 168.

he occasionally alluded (218). His "Jules César" (1848) excited the glowing suffrage of de Vigny, who found the conditional farewell of Brutus and Cassius finer in Barbier's verses than in the English (219) and wrote him thus: "Vous avez... relevé avec soin les actes de haute moralité du stoïcien Brutus... Ces efforts prouvent le besoin que vous avez senti de compléter et d'éclaircir l'idée de Shakespeare" (220). When his "Iambes" appeared, a critic stated that, the social life of the time being discouraging and immoral, poetry would continue to bear the imprint of a profound disgust for society, and Byron with his despair, doubts, noble yet barren enthusiasms would be its inviolable model (221). In "Il Pianto", Vigny (222) deplored the influence of the Lake Poets through the attenuating channel of Brizeux; but that influence may well have come direct from England on the recommendation of Brizeux; H. C. de Saint-Michel (223) found one of the poems, "Campo-Vaccino", to recall too much the descriptive manner of "Childe Harold". In short, then, Barbier was influenced not nearly so much as de Musset by English literature, but (especially in "Il Pianto" and the "Satires et poèmes") more than is usually thought.

His friend Brizeux composed poetry that has much in common with Wordsworth's, and he was passably versed in English literature. In 1829 he wrote to de Vigny concerning the "More de Venise", in rehearsal: "... Tout ami que je suis de Shakespeare, c'est surtout pour vous que j'aimerais à combattre" (224). He knew Milton (225); noted with delight the occasions on which he saw Walter Scott (226), "le grand conteur"; and admired Byron (227), "cet illustre, bizarre et malheureux homme", mentioned him on several occasions in jottings made on his own travels in Italy, and, in an article on Venice written for the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (228) of 1833, he constantly recurred

(218) See e. g. L. Séché: "Alfred de Vigny" (2 voll., 2nd edition 1913), I, 193.

(219) "Annales Romantiques" of Nov.-Dec. 1905, "Alfred de Vigny à Maine Giraud", letter of 6th Jan. 1849.

(220) "Revue bleue", 8th April 1905, "Lettres d'Alfred de Vigny à Auguste Barbier", letter of 11th March 1849.

(221) "Revue européenne", March 1832, E. C.'s article on the "Iambes".

(222) "Journal d'un poète", Coll. Nelson, ed., pp. 257-258.

(223) "Revue de Paris", Jan. 1833, review of "Il Pianto".

(224) L. Séché: "Alfred de Vigny", 1913 ed., I, 190; letter of 11th Oct.

(225) C. Lecigne: "Brizeux, sa vie et ses œuvres... documents inédits" (1898), B's letter of 23rd July 1857.

(226) *Ibidem*, passim.

(227) Ditto.

(228) 1st April 1833.

to the name of the English poet, who seems to have for some time obsessed him. There can be little doubt that he was conversant with Wordsworth's poems, a fact that probably caused A. Desplaces (229) to say of Brizeux's poetry: "Parfois... ce sont des alentours de chaumières, esquissées sans apprêt, qui rappellent l'abandon familier de Wordsworth". It was almost solely a Wordsworthian and not, as de Vigny thought, a general Lakist influence that affected the poems of the retiring Brizeux.

Victor Laprade, a rather diluted and more philosophical Brizeux, may well have derived something from the Lakist interpretation of Nature; at any rate, we know that he possessed a first rate knowledge of English literature. In 1868 Montalembert wrote, concerning "Le Sentiment de la nature chez les modernes" (which appeared in the previous year), to the author: "Votre livre V sur la poésie anglaise est tout à fait supérieur et très original. Je ne crois pas que personne en France ait étudié ce sujet comme vous... J'ai retrouvé avec bonheur tous mes souvenirs et toutes mes impressions personnelles, revêtues de votre noble et beau langage, dans vos chapitres sur Byron, sur Goethe et surtout sur Chateaubriand" (230). Internal criticism will most likely establish a Tennysonian orientation in Laprade's poetry.

Théodore de Banville, like Laprade, was in the forties a Romantic. He had no ultra-purist objections to anglicisms (231), and fervently admired Shakespeare. He tells us that when he was "un jeune poète sauvage", he often visited Michel Carré, the painter-poet (232); "là... nous lisions Shakespeare dont nous étions fous, et plus tard nous fûmes assez heureux pour que ni l'un ni l'autre ne nous guérît de cette folie". As an old man he wrote (233); "j'adore Shakespeare...; il est pour moi le dieu de la poésie, comme il l'était pour Henri Heine lui-même, et je comprends Berlioz qui l'évoquait et l'implorait comme un père, dans ses chagrins d'amour". In 1852 he had an idea of composing with Philoxène Boyer a satirical comedy of a Shakespearean turn (234).

Courtesy demands that before we pass to the minor men-

(229) "L'Artiste", 21st March 1847.

(230) Edmond Biré: "Victor de Laprade" (1886), letter of 18th Feb. 1863.

(231) See passim his "Souvenirs", 1882.

(232) *Ibidem*, ch. XI.

(233) "Mes Souvenirs", ch. XI.

(234) *Ibidem*, ch. XXXIV.

poets, we should attend to the poetesses. Delphine Gay (235), later Mme Emile de Girardin, the affectionate friend of de Vigny and Lamartine, the helpful friend of Balzac and Gautier, seems, on external evidence, to have owed nothing in her poetry to English literature. Mme Amable Tastu (236), who preceded Delphine Gay as a prose writer but followed her as poetess, did owe something. In 1835, Antoine de Latour wrote: "La Chambre de la Châtelaine est une élégante imitation de Maturin" (237), et 'le Barde', 'la Mer', 'l'Odalisque' n'ont rien perdu, en passant dans notre langue, de la grâce mélancolique et sérieuse de Thomas Moore. Ces œuvres diverses de 1826, où tant d'âme entrait dans l'imitation, étaient pour le talent de Mme Tastu un exercice puissant, qui hâtait sa maturité. Par ces luttes avec Maturin et Thomas Moore, elle se rapprochait peu à peu de Shakespeare. Lorsqu'enfin elle vint à lui, elle avait certes dans le style assez de vigueur pour traduire la scène de Brutus et de Porcia, assez de souplesse pour reproduire les adieux de Roméo et de Juliette; et pour redire le chant de Titania qui s'endort, ou les lamentations du roi Lear, la grâce pouvait-elle jamais manquer à son langage, la sensibilité à son cœur?" (238). Of the 1826 volume of "Poésies", P. F. Tissot (239) remarked that "tantôt elle semble avoir vécu dans le commerce de Shakespeare... On trouve tour à tour en elle une élève de Clément Marot, une interprète de Moore, une émule de Lamartine et de Casimir Delavigne". In the "Poésies nouvelles" of 1835, she in several pieces imitated Miss Landon and Mrs. Hemans (240); a few years later she said in an article on Mrs. Hemans (241): "J'ai essayé de faire passer dans notre langue quelques morceaux de Mme Hemans ("Edith" et les "Tombeaux d'une famille"). Tout en faisant de mon mieux, je suis restée bien loin du modèle". In 1830 a critic had observed that the two poetesses resembled each other at several points, and undoubtedly Felicia Hemans crept into more than the avowed imitations made by Mme Tastu, for the

(235) For general account, see L. Séché's: "Muses romantiques. Delphine Gay", 1910.

(236) For general account, see M. Souriau: "Grandeur et décadence de Mme Amable Tastu", 1910. It is, however, a book very difficult to find.

(237) Called by Edmond Géraud an "imitation peut-être trop fidèle": "Annales de la littérature", XXVI, 139 (i. e. in 1827).

(238) "Revue de Paris", May 1835, article on Mme T.

(239) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XV, 210-211 (i. e. in 1826).

(240) "Revue de Paris", May 1835, article on Mme T.

(241) "Le Temps", 31st Oct. 1839.

English "Muse" was known in France (242). Of her imitative poetry the versions from Shakespeare were the most highly esteemed.

Shakespeare was the favourite poet of Louise Colet (243), who in her poem "Molière" made a comparison of the French with the English dramatist (244). "Penserosa", a volume of poems that came out near the end of 1839, contained "brillantes imitations de Th. Moore, de Goethe et de Shakespeare" (245); the Shakespearean pieces being "les jolies imitations du 'Songe d'une nuit d'été' et du 'Conte d'hiver'" (246). In 1844, reviewing her "Poésies complètes", A. Bignan (247) repeated that remarkable though forgotten critic A. de Barthélemy-Lanta's opinion that, good as were these Shakespearean imitations, her original poetry was better: "'Les Sorcières de Macbeth', des scènes de 'la Tempête', des 'Fragments du Songe d'une nuit d'été', 'Constance et Perdita' attestent une consciencieuse étude de Shakespeare, et le vers de la Corinne française, lutte sans désavantage contre la nerveuse et rude pensée de l'Eschyle anglais. Mais Mme Colet ne se fait traducteur que par occasion... Malgré le talent qui brille dans ses imitations shakespeariennes, nous préférons encore les pages où elle parle en son nom". After the 'forties, she wrote mostly novels and semi-historical studies. Elisa Mercœur, who died young, imitated Byron in one of her poems (248), and was evidently acquainted with Shakespeare.

But the earliest notable, and the best of the Romantic poetesses was Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, as heroic as she was emotional. She had a pretty fair knowledge of English (249) and read much in the literature; but when she came to write in that tongue, as she occasionally did in her letters, she made some quaint mistakes (250). In 1857 she mentioned having only En-

(242) "Mercure de France au XIX^e siècle", 1830, trans. of one of Mrs. H.'s poems, with footnote.

(243) For general account, see J. de Mestral Combremont: "La belle Mme Colet", 1913.

(244) "Quarante-cinq lettres de Béranger" (ed. by Mme Colet, 1857), B.'s letter of 2nd May 1844.

(245) "Echo de la littérature", 1840, A. de Barthélemy—Lanta's notable article.

(246) "Revue Britannique", Dec. 1843, p. 503.

(247) "Le Constitutionnel", 3rd March 1844, supplement.

(248) "Revue encyclopédique", Dec. 1828, p. 740.

(249) See her "Correspondance intime" (2 voll., ed. by B. Rivière, 1896), at dates 6th Aug. 1838 and 15th June 1847.

(250) E. g. "Revue de Paris", 1st Aug. 1896. "Marceline Desbordes-Valmore. Lettres", ed. by A. Pougin, at date 25th Nov. 1837.

glish books with her (251). In 1826 she published at least two imitations from English poetry (252): "Le Mendiant" and "La Novice. Imitée de Th. Moore". Her "Bouquets et prières" (1843) drew the following remarks from Asseline (253): "Mme Desbordes-Valmore rend un sincère hommage au talent de Thomas Moore, et elle sent, comme nous, qu'elle est un peu sa sœur pour la souffrance rêveuse et discrètement rendue. Elle a imité avec goût quelques mélodies, et en a fait passer dans ses strophes toute la sensibilité". It is possible, too, that she derived something from Mrs. Hemans, though one may advance the opposing opinion that the English poetess owed something to her: quite probably they were mutually indebted (254). Nor must we forget "Le Salon de Lady Betty", a collection of short stories published in 1836. That she regarded this work with affection appears from letters to her publisher and friend, Gustave Charpentier (255). A contemporary notice (256) runs thus: "... La plupart de ces contes sont, si je ne me trompe, des traductions libres ou des imitations de l'anglais. La touche de nos voisins est bien reconnaissable sous le gracieux ajustement français dont on l'a revêtue. On y retrouve l'empreinte de cet esprit qu'ils désignent sous le nom de 'humour'". English influence, on Mme Desbordes-Valmore, then, was direct and mostly acknowledged on her part; and she was by temperament so essentially poetical, that her original work owed little to foreign suggestion; her "atmosphere" was truly her own.

Her lover, H. de Latouche, showed a versatile talent. He seems to have had a passable knowledge of the English language and literature: Byron and Milton (257); Shakespeare (258), who inspired him in 1831 to write to Dumas: "Dans les pièces de l'école de Shakespeare et de Molière, s'offrait une autre séduction pour répudier [la] vulgaire adresse: chercher les moyens de la

(251) "Correspondance intime", 3rd Feb. 1837. In her letter of 21st May 1839 she referred feelingly to Young's "Night Thoughts".

(252) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle, XII, 285 and XIII, 141.

(253) "Revue de Paris", April 1843, in review of that volume.

(254) Internal criticism should attempt this study.

(255) "Mercure de France", 15th April 1921, "Marceline Desbordes-Valmore et Gustave Charpentier", by J. Marsan, the letters of 3rd April and 22nd Dec. 1835.

(256) "Revue critique des livres nouveaux", April 1836.

(257) H. de Latouche: "Vallée-aux-Loups. Fantaisies et souvenirs" (1833) ed. of 1875, p. 124; for Byron, see also, p. 91.

(258) *Ibidem*, 195.

nature, et de n'affecter pas d'être plus délicat que la vérité" (259) ; Burns, four of whose poems he translated freely, sympathetically into coloured prose (260) ; Scott, whom he adored (261) : these were his favourites. But his poetry reflected either no or extremely little English influence.

Ulric Guttinguer had a less extensive acquaintance with English writers, yet he was affected by that small amount. "Je te bénis", in his "Mélanges poétiques", (1824) was, imitated from Sterne, highly praised by P. F. Tissot (262) ; of "Le Bal", in the same volume, Asselineau (263) observed : "C'était là le petit drame que chacun voulait faire en ce temps, en s'inspirant plus ou moins de "Childe Harold" et du "Corsaire", et comme contraste aux lacs de félicité des voltigeurs de l'ancien régime poétique" ; in the same year, Guttinguer published a "Dithyrambe sur la mort de lord Byron" (264). His "Nadir", an Oriental story in prose and verse (1822), bore the mark of Thomas Moore's "Lalla Rookh" (265).

His friend, H. de la Morvonnais not only possessed an excellent knowledge of English literature, but was much influenced thereby (266). Judging from an article in the "Vigie de l'Ouest" (267), he must have read Shakespeare very closely ; he admired him for subtle and profound penetration into life and objectively picturesque description of Nature. In 1837 he wrote a very capable essay (268) on Crabbe and displayed familiarity with Cowper and Goldsmith in addition to the author under consideration ; in the following year, an attractive study (269) of Coleridge ; in 1835 he had begun in a leading review (270) a series of articles on "the Lake Poets", especially Wordsworth, of whom he spoke as a "grand poète dont l'étude fut pour nous un trésor de délices et d'amour" (271). Elsewhere he used the

(259) Dumas : "Souvenirs de 1830 à 1842", I.

(260) "Vallée-aux-loups", ch. X.

(261) G. Sand : "Histoire de ma vie" (4 voll. 1854-1855), IV, 4th part, ch. 15.

(262) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", VII, 109-101.

(263) "Bibliographie romantique. Catalogue anecdotique", at Guttinguer.

(264) See e. g. "La Pandore", 5th July 1824.

(265) Asselineau : "Bibliographie romantique".

(266) See Fleury's "H. de la Morvonnais" and M. A. Smith's "L'Influence des jacobins sur les romantiques français".

(267) 5th March 1840 : see Fleury, op. cit.

(268) "L'Université catholique", 1837 : see Fleury.

(269) "L'Université catholique", 1838 ; ditto.

(270) "Revue européenne".

(271) *Ibidem*, July 1835.

words : "... Wordsworth qui nous est tout un bonheur dans notre désert" (272). Du Breil de Marzan (273) relates that, in the early days of the little poetry-circle of the Val de l'Arguenon, Maurice de Guérin profited by Sainte-Beuve's "Consolations", while H. de la Morvonnais introduced the Lakists (mainly Wordsworth). The Breton poet liked Scott very well too (274). The Lake poetry, chiefly in its intimate, domestic, familiar phase, reacted powerfully on his verse. "On s'imaginait très aisément", says Du Breil de Marzan of the Val de l'Arguenon group, "avoir fait preuve de génie, quand on avait rimé les détails les plus prosaïques de la domesticité et du ménage, et surtout introduit dans un vers le nom technique de la chose...". But La Morvonnais used these improvised poems only as an artist does sketches. A more exact and favourable statement was Duquesnel's (275) : "The author of the "Thébaïde des Grèves" is, in our opinion, that French poet who can best initiate this country in the poetry of the Lakists... Not only has he long lived in the commerce of their books, but there are between them and him some remarkable points of contact and resemblance. Like Wordsworth, he has passed his life in solitude and nourished himself with analogous ideas and sentiments." Duquesnel later pointed out (276) how deeply La Morvonnais was influenced by Wordsworth, whom the poet in 1840 called "un de mes maîtres" (277) and whom he consulted as he surveyed the landscape (278) during his many walks. He was well equipped for the enjoyment of Wordsworth by his unusually thorough knowledge of English (indeed he composed in English nine poems by a supposed Robert Rainsford and then amused himself by turning them into French) (279), and nearly all his poetry constitutes the sincerest form of flattery addressed to the English writer. It is moreover to his credit that he had become acquainted with the literature of England before Sainte-Beuve published the "Poésies de Joseph Delorme", work rather similar to the Breton's.

(272) "La France catholique", 4th Oct. 1834 : see Fleury, *op. cit.*

(273) In "Souvenirs et impressions de quatre années de la vie de Georges-Maurice de Guérin", 1862. This "plaquette" is very sincere and interesting ; it was reprinted in G. S. Trébutien's "Maurice de Guérin", 1865.

(274) Fleury, *op. cit.*, Pitre-Chevalier's letter of 1844.

(275) "La Vigie de l'Ouest", 4th Sept. 1838 : see Fleury.

(276) *Ibidem*, 25th Sept. 1838 ; ditto.

(277) *Ibid.*, 7th July 1840, first open letter to G. Sand ; ditto.

(278) *Ibid.*, 4th Aug. 1840, second letter to Sand ; do.

(279) I take this detail from Fleury's excellent book.

Much more worldly than La Morvonnais, Emile Deschamps (280) also took a notable interest in English literature. "Les Trois poètes-dieux de la jeunesse d'Emile sont Horace, le Romancéro, Shakespeare (281)". To his translations of "Romeo and Juliet" and "Macbeth", published together in 1844, he appended some "notes excellentes qui montrent une profonde étude de son auteur" (282). Of the "Etudes françaises et étrangères" (1829), Paul Foucher (283) remarked: "L'étranger y joue en effet un grand rôle. Schiller, Shakespeare, Goethe, le "Romancero" espagnol viennent emprunter successivement chez le poète la forme d'un vers clair et précis". The poem, "Plaintes de la jeune Emma", suave, exquisite, contained "acclimations vivantes de Shakespeare" in the way of metrical daring (284). He translated "Roméo et Juliette" (1829) and "Macbeth" (played in 1848). J. de Saint-Félix (285), himself a solid yet attractive writer, said of these two versions: "Shakespeare est là, reproduit tout vibrant". Deschamps recast them and, in his opinion, improved them, in comparison with what they were in their original form (286). Of "Macbeth" as it was played at the Odéon at the end of October 1848, Auguste Vacquerie wrote: (287) "M. Emile Deschamps a apprivoisé Shakespeare. C'est là tout à la fois un blâme et un éloge.... Un reproche plus grave que nous ferons à M. Emile Deschamps, c'est d'avoir taillé un peu largement dans le branchage de l'œuvre". Having pointed out these two defects, Vacquerie praised the style, rich in Shakespearean phrases, and found the translation true to the text. Ch. Romagny (288) declared that Deschamps has added as it were "un nouveau fleuron à sa couronne poétique"; another critic (289) asserted that of all the attempts made to naturalise in France the drama of Shakespeare, the most serious and, from the point of view of literature, the most estimable was Emile Deschamps's, because that ap-

(280) Much the best book on him is H. Girard's, 1921.

(281) "La France littéraire", July 1835, article by the pseudonymous Samuel Bach.

(282) "Echo de la littérature", Nov. 1844, A. de Martonne's review of the translations.

(283) "Coulisses du passé", p. 421.

(284) Victor Pavie: "Œuvres choisies" (1887), II, at E. Deschamps.

(285) "L'Esprit français", 14th March. 1847.

(286) "Annales Romantiques", 1905, J. Marsan's "Alfred de Vigny au Maine-Giraud", an unedited letter of E. D.

(287) "L'Événement", 30th Oct. 1848.

(288) "La Liberté", 15th Nov. 1848.

(289) "L'Union", 30th Oct. 1848.

proached closest to the original, but added that he had contented himself with passing a classic scalpel timidly over the living body of the dramatist and had, ill-inspired, suppressed several passages in a way that left others obscure ; he found too that the French writer had been too euphemistic. (But Emile Deschamps's translation was not so close as Jules Lacroix's.) It issued gloriously from the test of the theatre, as the "*Gazette des Théâtres*" informs us : "'Macbeth' is played every day, and that scarcely satisfies the eagerness of the public, which the pomp of the staging, the felicitous translation and the acting keep attracting" (290). When it had been running about three weeks, the same periodical (291) remarked that "its success was assuming colossal proportions". For a man whose interest was divided between three literatures—French, Spanish, and English—Emile Deschamps thus did very good work as a supporter of Shakespeare.

His younger brother, Antoni, paid far more attention to Italian than to English literature (292), and in the latter he stressed only Shakespeare, possibly as a result of his brother's influence. In the "*Poésies*" of the two Deschamps (1841) figured the translation of parts of "*Lear*", of which one reviewer adversely stated that Antoni seemed to have considered it his business, so rough and shapeless were his verses, to justify those who accused Shakespeare of barbarism (293). Other opinions found these fragments rendered with naked strength and simplicity. In "*Dernières Paroles*" (1835) he had in one poem instituted a magnificent comparison between Macbeth and the poet as type : "*C'est du Dante enté sur du Shakespeare*" (294), wrote J. Lefèvre (one of the "*poetæ minores*" of the Romantic movement) ; this latter detail shows that Antoni Deschamps had been much struck with the genius of Shakespeare.

Fontaney was cosmopolitan in his literary tastes, but preferred English to any other foreign writers ; Asselineau speaks of his "*commerce assidu avec la littérature et la société anglaise*" (295). In the thirties, he contributed several articles on English litera-

(290) "*Gazette des Théâtres*", 29th Oct. 1848.

(291) *Ibidem*, 19th Nov. 1848.

(292) "*Revue de Paris*", July 1835, Antoine de Latour's "*Revue poétique*".

(293) "*Echo de la littérature*", Aug. 1841, J. de Lamarque's notice.

(294) "*Mémoires de l'Académie de Toulouse*", 1909, "Notes sur Antoni Deschamps", by Jules Marsan, who reprinted them in "*La Bataille romantique*", 1912. Letter of 1st May 1835.

(295) "*Bibliographie romantique. Catalogue anecdotique*", sec. on F. (I, pp. 125-130).

ture to the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (296) and later wrote "chroniques" under the pen-name of Lord Feeling. In 1829 appeared his "Ballades, mélodies et poésies diverses", of which a contemporary said : "M. de Fontaney... nous offre des pièces de deux sortes, des inspirations originales... et des traductions ou imitations de Walter Scott, de Thomas Moore, de Wordsworth, de Burger, de Manzoni. Lorsqu'on aime et qu'on cultive, comme M. de Fontaney, les langues et les littératures étrangères, il est bien difficile de ne pas se laisser aller à ces imitations..." (297). The volume contained "des imitations ou traductions très-élégantes des mélodies de Thomas Moore" (298), and "La Nuit de Saint-Jean", imitated from Scott, received warm praise (299). A year before Fontaney's "Ballades", appeared J. de Rességuier's "Poésies", including many poems that had figured in periodicals. In 1822, Victor Hugo wrote to de Rességuier : "J'ai relu votre "Pélerin" dans les "Annales" avec un nouveau plaisir et c'est une charmante élegie. Je ne connaissais pas cette ballade de Walter Scott. Je suis charmé que la connaissance soit faite par vous" (300).

More a Romantic than J. de Rességuier, Boulay-Paty admired particularly Byron. In 1829 he and Hippolyte Lucas prepared for the stage Byron's "Corsair" (301), which was played and hissed at the Odéon in the following year (302). He must have been very disappointed at this failure, for Lamartine had declared the subject eminently dramatic and had congratulated him on the choice (303). Edouard Turquety (304), whose first volume of verse came out in 1829, had a deep religious tinge. We wouldn't be surprised if he were influenced by the Lake Poets, especially Wordsworth ; at any rate we know that he read Shakespeare (305).

(296) See e. g. June 1832.

(297) "Mercure du xix^e siècle", XXIV, 33-36 ; Cf. Asselineau : "Bib. romantique", sec. on F.

(298) "Le Corsaire", 13th Feb. 1829.

(299) "Le Courrier des théâtres", 6th Jan. 1829.

(300) P. Lafond : "L'Aube romantique", V. H.'s letter of 19th April. 1822.

(301) "Annales Romantiques", mars-avril, 1905, D. Caillé's "Bouley-Paty, son journal intime, sa correspondance".

(302) D. Caillé : "Journal intime du poète Evariste Boulay-Paty" (1901), entry of (probably 24th) May 1830.

(303) *Ibidem*, entry of 14th May 1830.

(304) In general, see F. Saulnier : "La Vie d'un poète, Edouard Turquety", 1885.

(305) *Ibidem*, T.'s letter of 15th July 1829.

Hégésippe Moreau, whose fame profited by his early and tragic death, showed at best a rather second-hand acquaintance with English literature (306). He seems however, to have enjoyed "Roméo et Juliette" as played at the Odéon in 1830-1831 (307). He and his friend, Dr Alphonse Guérin, "avaient projeté de faire un roman. Il s'agissait d'un drame historique, à la manière de ceux de Walter Scott", but the plan fell through (308). He thoroughly enjoyed reading the Waverley Novelist, as we see by the fact that he told Vallery-Radot that one day, when he had determined to commit suicide, "j'aperçus... un écriteau qui annonçait la traduction nouvelle d'un roman posthume de Walter Scott. Je voulus lire encore ce roman avant de mourir. S'il n'était pas trop inférieur à ceux qui m'avaient fait tant de fois oublier ma misère, j'allais du moins finir ma vie par quelques heures agréables" (309).

Of Arvers's "Mes Heures perdues" (1833), Audebrand (310) remarked : "... Le tout couronné par ce titre qui a bien l'air d'une réminiscence de Byron", and added that, at the time these poems were written, Arvers was "sous le coup du Byronisme" (311); a contemporary notice (312) on the volume referred to the author thus : "Il a eu recours tour à tour à Byron, à M. Victor Hugo, à M. de Musset, mais ces emprunts, peu déguisés qu'ils sont, n'ont pas effacé tout à fait la verve originale de l'auteur". Napoléon Peyrat, on the other hand, knew something of English literature (313) and admired Milton tremendously (314), but external evidence indicates no influence from that source on his poetry.

It is interesting to observe that a transitional poet, Louis Ménard, stated of himself and other young Romantics of the late 'thirties and the 'forties that they "were nourished" on Byron. "Cain" drew from him the cry : "On meurt de cela ! mais que c'est beau ! que c'est beau !". He read Shakespeare "comme il

(306) See his "Correspondance", 1890, ed. by R. Vallery-Radot in "Œuvres complètes de Moreau" ; passim.

(307) *Ibidem*, letters of Feb. 1830 and of 1831.

(308) Phil. Audebrand : "Derniers jours de la Bohême".

(309) Vallery-Radot : "Souvenirs littéraires", 1877.

(310) "Petits mémoires du XIX^e siècle", p. 135.

(311) *Ibidem*, 136.

(312) "Le Temps", 8th Sept. 1833.

(313) N. Peyrat : "Béranger et Lamennais... Souvenirs", passim.

(314) *Ibidem*, Peyrat's letter of (about 12th) July 1846.

lisait Byron, en le vivant pour son compte, pour son compte de romantique" (315).

In review, then, we see that every great, every really notable Romantic poet, along with many of the minor poets, had some knowledge of English literature, and that nearly every single one of them showed, either liberally or at any rate appreciably, its influence. In almost every instance, the influence came from poetry, which was translated and imitated on scores of occasions; more remarkable, however, was the fact that the French Romantic poets very often attempted to reproduce the "atmosphere" of their favourite English poet, especially if it were Byron, and by so doing they paid the greatest honour to the originals, for "atmosphere" quite as much as theme constitutes the dominant characteristic of poetry; imitation of atmosphere is for the borrowing literature more important than the repetition of themes, for many poets can, without wearying the public, convey a certain tone and colour, but very few dare serve up an already-treated well known subject. The impact of English metric left little impression on the poetry (316), for in versification the two literatures are poles apart; but the verbal audacities of Shakespeare and Byron took effect.

(315) For all these details, see "Rêveries d'un païen mystique", Rioux de Maillou's augmented edition of 1911.

(316) For general remarks, see E. Barat's "Le Style poétique et la révolution romantique", 1904.

CHAPTER IV

THE DRAMA

Though less personally than the poets, the French dramatists drew even more on English literature ; but here the influence was rather a matter of theme than of atmosphere. The playwrights not only imitated or adapted English drama, but recast novels for stage purposes : the four writers that provided most plots or suggestions were Shakespeare, Scott, Byron, and Fenimore Cooper, in that order ; the only others much drawn-on were Rowe, Richardson, Sheridan, Lewis and Maturin.

As poetry is the most spontaneous and therefore the truest expression of literature at any period, so drama affords the best field for the combatant forces of literature. The theories dividing writers and interesting the public can there be more graphically and immediately set forth than in poetry and the novel : especially did this hold for French Romanticism. And the foreign elements, which usually evoke the extremes of admiration or contempt, played a large part in the formation of the Romantic drama (1) and constituted a large proportion of its maturity in the 'forties.

Foreign influence operated on drama at first moderately, then furiously, in the decade 1820-1829. A rather anti-Romantic-critic (2) said some years later : "On invoquait à grands cris la liberté et l'imitation des théâtres étrangers, de l'Angleterre, de la Germanie, de l'Espagne. Shakespeare, Calderon, Schiller, Lessing, Goethe étaient devenus presque plus nationaux en France que Corneille, Racine et Voltaire"; in 1829, Ed. Mazères (3) stated that second-rank authors of the reigns of

(1) See, for general account, Nebout's "Le Drame romantique" 1889. Valuable for the influence of Scott and Byron is F. W. M. Draper's "Rise and Fall of the French Romantic Drama", 1923.

(2) P. Lorain in his article "De la situation dramatique" in "Le Correspondant", May 1846.

(3) "Revue de Paris", April 1829.

Louis XIV and Louis XV owed less to Scudery and Mesdames de La Fayette and de Tencin than the French playwrights and vaudeville-writers of the day owed to Walter Scott, Fenimore Cooper, Victor Ducange and Paul de Kock : adaptation from novels had begun early among the Romantic dramatists.

In 1822 Penley's company of English actors came to Paris to give a season of plays in their own language. On their first night they attempted at the Porte-Saint-Martin to present "Othello" and "The Rendez-Vous" (a short comedy). "The public wouldn't listen to a scene, a single verse, a word ; they hooted and hissed from start to finish. Nevertheless, the actors went through with the two plays, except the fourth act of the tragedy..... The object of the spectators' animadversion was neither Shakespeare nor his interpreters, the opposition having other motives". The company tried again : "Scarcely had they appeared, when the very large audience... so vented their disapprobation in loud cries that it was impossible to commence the first piece, Sheridan's "School for Scandal". The same person that had caused a disturbance on the first night was seen in a box, and his presence again led to trouble ; potatoes, double sous, and eggs were thrown. Forced to give in, the actors beat a retreat" (4). After these two "essaisfunestes à leurs intérêts autant qu'à la tranquillité publique" (5), the English company moved to the Salle Chantierine, where, subsidised by French lovers of literature and art, they gave six performances : we may mention that on the first night they played Lewis's "Castle Spectre", on the second "The School for Scandal" and "Rosine", on the 24th August—probably the third—"Jane Shore" and a short comic opera (6), and for their last appearance "Romeo and Juliet" (7).

The first striking instance (if we except Nodier and Taylor's "Bertram" in 1821) of noteworthy adaptation from English sources came in 1824, when Lemercier and Liadières each brought

(4) "Le Constitutionnel", 3rd August, 1822; account of 2nd night come in the theatrical postscript. The review is by Evariste D. These two performances took place on the 1st and either the 2nd or 3rd August.

(5) "Le Miroir", 2th Aug. 1822; *ibidem*, *ibid.*, for information on first two nights. Very useful is J. L. Borgeshoff's "Le Théâtre anglais à Paris, sous la Restauration", 1912; my few notes on the English actors have been made quite independently.

(6) "Le Miroir", 26th Aug. 1822.

(7) *Ibidem*, 6th Sept. 1822. These six occasions seem to have been spread over the approximate period 15th August to 5th September.

out a "Jane Shore", the former combining Shakespeare and Rowe, the latter relying on Rowe alone : "M. Liadières et M. Lemercier, s'accrochant de leur mieux à Shakespeare et à Rowe, faisaient chacun jouer une "Jane Shore", M. Liadières à l'Odéon, et M. Lemercier au Théâtre-Français. M. Lemercier le 1^{er} avril. Et M. Liadières le 2. La pièce de M. Liadières réussit ou à peu près. La pièce de M. Lemercier tomba malgré Talma..." (8). In 1825 we hear (9) of the Romantics demanding for France a national tragedy in prose, after the fashion of Shakespeare's "Richard III".

A year later, a literary review (10) permitted itself to speak these words : "I don't blame our writers for borrowing subjects from a foreign literature ; God forbid that I should ever preach an intolerant patriotism..... Borrow then from Shakespeare and Schiller ! I quite agree to that. But will you translate their works literally, will you faithfully preserve the distinguishing features of English or German manners and ideas ? No ; that would shock the French audience..., so we must have no translations. Imitations, that's all we can hope for ; we'll have plays that, half foreign, half French, risk gaining an only partial success". People were looking for something new on the stage ; the old plays bored them ; the time was ripe for all kinds of innovations (11). Engaged in 1826 by Merle, who had been instrumental in bringing Penley's troupe to Paris, Cooke, a leading Covent Garden actor and one of the best mimes in England, played, mostly in the latter capacity, in numerous pieces roughly adapted for the theatres of the capital, and he proved extremely successful (12). Early the following year, another English actor, Yates, was well received by the Parisians. He took monologue parts, spoken and mute, in parody as well as straight drama : "Sa pantomime est animée, souvent plaisante. Il... fait à merveille... la "charge" des acteurs les plus connus en Angleterre" (13). But he was neither so long nor so popular in Paris as Cooke, who had a rôle in many stirring

(8) Dumas : "Mes Mémoires", IX, 293.

(9) Through Stendhal : "Correspondance", at 14th Oct. 1825.

(10) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XIII, 35 (i. e. in 1826).

(11) "Revue de Paris", Feb. 1844, article on E. Deschamps by H. Babou, reference to 1826.

(12) For both the 1822 and the 1826 facts, see "Le Courrier des théâtres", 20th July 1827, Merle's letter to the editor.

(13) "La Pandore", 6th Feb. 1827. He figured at the Theatre de M. Comte.

melodramas (14). In August, the Théâtre de la Gaieté staged "Le Rôdeur, ou Les deux Apprentis", based (15) on Hogarth's series of pictures, "Industry and Idleness", and about the same time appeared Eugène Chapus' "Essai critique sur le théâtre anglais", in which a reviewer (16), having found much talent and spirit, and an extensive knowledge of the subject, thought such qualities dangerous when, as they did here, they supported what he felt was a wrong opinion — that Shakespeare was more deeply philosophical than Molière. To the period 1820-1827, A. Dumas (17) alludes thus : "From complete contempt for English literature, one had passed to enthusiastic admiration. M. Guizot... had retranslated Shakespeare with the aid of Letourneur. Walter Scott, Byron and Cooper were in the hands of all. M. Lemercier had composed a tragedy with "Richard III", M. Liadières another with "Jane Shore". There were played "Le Château de Kenilworth" at the Porte-Saint-Martin, "Louis XI à Péronne" at the "Théâtre-Français", "Macbeth" at the Opéra. People were talking of Frédéric Soulié's "Roméo et Juliette" and Alfred de Vigny's "More de Venise". The wind was decidedly blowing from the West and announced the literary revolution. Nor was that all : recently at the Porte-Saint-Martin had been staged a work with a denouement, borrowed from Warner's "Twenty-fourth of February", that made a great stir by both its form and its execution".

But the most exciting and significant event in the annals of French drama in the eighteen-twenties was the visit of the English actors (18), who played in Paris from early Autumn 1827 till mid-Summer 1828. The conditions prevailing on their arrival and during the early days of their theatrical season were closely observed by Moreau, who, aided by two prominent artists, produced that magnificent specimen of the publishers' art, "Souvenir du théâtre anglais à Paris" (19). "If since the death of Voltaire many estimable and some piquantly original dramatic

(14) See "La Pandore" passim from 3rd April till mid-August 1826.

(15) "Le Globe", 7th Aug. 1827.

(16) In "La Pandore", 31st Aug. 1827.

(17) "Mes mémoires", XI, 98-99. As Soulié's play was staged in 1828, Vigny's in 1829, Dumas has perhaps made an error in supposing that both these works were under discussion quite so early.

(18) Cf. ante, Ch. II, both in the general chronicle of English influence and in the section on opposition. See Borgeshoff.

(19) Issued in 1827. The two Moreau-citations on the English actors come from this book.

compositions have seen the light of day, a far larger number, cast (so to speak) into the same mould, have wearied the public, destroyed the prestige of the stage, caused chill and boredom to circulate in places consecrated to the liveliest pleasures of the mind, and rendered inevitable a reform already signalled by painting, as regenerated by David, and by music, as revolutionised by Rossini. The establishment of an English theatre at Paris could not take place in more favourable circumstances. Gloomy prejudices that, long fostered by clever politicians, were bound to disappear with the fall of those same politicians, ceased to divide two nations that march, equal-stepping, at the forefront of civilisation : to our unjust hatred has succeeded the spirit of investigation... It is neither swayed by national pride nor transported with blind admiration that to-day we attend the representations of the British master-plays. This spectacle, entirely new even to those whom reading has familiarised with Shakespeare, cannot be otherwise than profitable for our dramatists, our players, and the public itself". Late in September 1827 (20), Eugène Delacroix, picturesque writer and vivid artist, wrote to a friend thus : "Les Anglais ont ouvert leur théâtre... Enfin ils ont la vogue. Les classiques les plus obstinés baissent pavillon. Nos acteurs vont à l'école et ouvrent de grands yeux. Les conséquences de cette innovation sont incalculables". Very soon after, he described the situation to Victor Hugo : "Envahissement général : Hamlet lève sa tête hideuse, Othello prépare son poignard essentiellement occiseur et subversif de toute bonne police dramatique..... Apprêtez-vous, dans tous les cas, d'une bonne cuirasse sous votre habit. Craignez les poignards classiques, ou plutôt immolez-vous courageusement pour nos plaisirs à nous autres barbares...". The world of letters keenly desired to make acquaintance with the English drama and flocked to the visiting actors, who, as was known, intended playing many of the best pieces. It seemed to the Classics and Romantics that their quarrel should at these performances find complete solution. On the first two nights, comedies were given; the press, voicing the wishes of the public, called for tragedy, especially Shakespea-

(20) E. Delacroix: "Lettres" (ed. by P. Burty, 2 voll., 1878), at 26th Sept. 1827. Burty for this letter, as for that from which the next quotation comes, gives the date as 1828. but that is certainly wrong; this English troupe was not playing in Paris so late as Sept 1828; besides, both letters obviously refer to the earlier part of the English theatrical season.

rean : to the presentation of "Hamlet", came "a crowd of foreigners, and massed battalions of literary men, both Classics and Romantics, as well as the actors of most of the Parisian theatres" (21). In general, the press reviewed these performances very favourably, and the average disposition of Frenchmen was this : "Le public français s'est laissé aller volontiers à admirer Shakespeare, et lorsque des productions d'un ordre inférieur lui ont été offertes, il s'est moins occupé des ouvrages que des acteurs" (22). Much attention, indeed, was paid to the acting. The attitude of the "Globe" was expressed by Magnin as follows : "Nos acteurs trouvent aussi à apprendre à ce nouveau théâtre. Dans l'état déplorable où languit chez nous la tragédie,... nous souhaitons que la comparaison du théâtre anglais avec le nôtre donne à nos acteurs de l'émulation et l'amour du vrai" (23) ; this important periodical always treated the visitors with great courtesy, the plays with respect, the underlying ideas with keen interest. Moreau, after pointing the superiority of French actors in comedy, said that in tragedy the English actors, by making the public familiar with the faithful imitation of frank, direct nature, would give French poets and players the courage to leave the beaten tracks and to take a flight that the audience, subjected too long to the yoke of routine, might formerly have thought rashly daring. Paul Foucher (24) erred in saying that the vogue of the London company didn't last,—though it doubtless fell away at times ; but he rightly designated as the sole cause of this cooling off "les obstacles d'un idiome médiocrement communicatif pour l'immense majorité des spectateurs". And the effects of this visit reached far and deep. In 1833, the imposing Cs. wrote in the "Journal des Débats" : "The English theatre was, for the innovators,... a rallying-point, a banner, a watch-word. The mass of the impartial public found this an excellent chance to judge for itself and to appreciate at its own sweet will the merit or the barbarism of this drama and these actors. In fine, the conversion operated so drastically that our theatre adopted nearly all the English customs. The interlocutors were seen turning their backs to the footlights and the audience, making them-

(21) Delécluze in his "Souvenirs".

(22) "La Quotidienne", 28th July 1828; statement by J. B. A. S., i. e. J. B. A. Soulié; this was only a day or so after the last performance.

(23) "Le Globe", 30th Aug. 1827.

(24) "Entre cour et pardin. Etudes et souvenirs du théâtre" (1867), near the end.

selves thoroughly at home, and breaking the mould of Classic habits. Then after the fashion of Otway, Lillo, Southerne, our dramatists had recourse to incest, rape, death-rattles, torture-racks, headsmen and corpses, and they gloried in it" (25). This influence, only sometimes so melodramatic as Cs. stated in his last sentence, endured for years; subsequent English companies only strengthened or renewed the impressions left by that of 1827-1828 : it is not going too far to say that the course of French drama was thereby changed, and that Hugo, de Vigny, Dumas, Soulié and others not only had their path made easy by these foreign actors but were by them prompted to compose the highly-coloured plays of the years 1828-1843. Look at the "Preface" to Hugo's "Cromwell", — the "Lettre à Lord L." at the head of the "More de Venise" (1830) and the "Avant-propos" of the "Maréchal d'Ancre" (1831), the "Dernière nuit de travail" at the head of "Chatterton", — "Un Mot" at the head of "Henri III et sa cour" (1829), and the "Preface" to "Charles VII chez ses grands vassaux" (1831), and you will find how potent was the Shakespearean influence, which, early rooted in these three dramatists, the greatest literary dramatists of the Romantic period, was firmly established by the visit of Kemble, Kean, Abbott and Miss Smithson, pre-eminent in their Shakespearean interpretations.

The dramatic situation in the late 'twenties was summarised by Armand de Pontmartin (26) in the words : "Notre génération avait un tel besoin d'une complète refonte dramatique, on la pressentait si bien en la désirant, que nous voulions la voir partout; dans un emprunt à Walter Scott, dans une traduction ou imitation de Shakespeare ou de Schiller, dans un essai de traduction de Casimir Delavigne, dans un mélodrame du boulevard". In 1829 Ch. Magnin (27), after seeing Dumas's "Henri III et sa cour", cried : "God be praised ! there's a drama that is imitated from neither Walter Scott nor Cooper" ; as a critic sympathetic to Romanticism, he wasn't frightened by the fact that in manner it owed something to Shakespeare. Also in 1829 appeared the criticism (28) : "we must resign ourselves to it ! Our tragic dramatists, who do not lack invention in the matter of details, seem decided to borrow all their themes from the theatre

(25) "Journal des Débats", 8th Jan. 1833.

(26) "Mes Mémoires. Seconde jeunesse", p. 7.

(27) "Le Globe", 14th Feb. 1829.

(28) "Revue française", July 1829, notice on C. Delavigne's "M. Faliéro".

of other nations". In July of that year, another English company come to Paris. "Le début... n'a pas été heureux", said a contemporary daily (29), which found the two principals, Wal-lack and Mrs. West, tolerable though far from wonderful, and the rest, to put it mildly, quite mediocre. Nor was the reviewer too severe (30) when he continued : "Il faudra que la troupe anglaise se recrute de quelques acteurs du premier ordre, si elle veut obtenir quelques reproductions fructueuses. Dans l'état où elle se trouve maintenant, elle nous expose à manquer aux devoirs de l'hospitalité, en nous les rendant trop pénibles". From all accounts it was a very feeble set of performances.

In 1830 appeared (31) a translation of the introduction to Dodsley's "Collection of Old Plays", — a minor indication of the interest felt in France for the English drama. More important, however, was the fact that critics were alive to the influence being exercised by the 1827-1828 English company, "nouveau-té piquante, épreuve instructive, qui a décidé sans retour deux ou trois points d'art et de poésie. Eh bien ! voilà qu'il faut expier en 1830 nos plaisirs de 1828. Une ruée de dramaturges sans idées fond et s'abat sur les canevas du pauvre William, les tronque, les mutile, leur enlève leur caractère et leur poésie" (32). French dramatists of the period 1820-1840 drew very freely also on Scott and Cooper, and an anonymous critic of 1830 remarked (33) that they would be very ungrateful if they didn't frankly acknowledge that for some years they had mostly lived by the grace of novelists, for example Scott, whose every work had been used, notable instances being Mély-Janin's "Louis XI" and Sou-met's "Emilia", and Cooper, who had furnished his contingent ; but now that these two authors had been exploited in all possible ways, and finally drained dry, the modern drama was, to find nourishment, thrown back on the small fry among the novelists. If that critic lived through the ensuing decade, he must have been astonished at the large number of adaptations from Scott and Cooper turned out for the stage.

(29) "Journal du Commerce", 27th July 1829.

(30) Cf. "Le Courrier des Théâtres" and other leading periodicals of July and August 1829.

(31) According to a note in "Le Mercure de France au dix-neuvième siècle" for 1830.

(32) "Le Globe", 5th June 1830, review of Delamarche's "Marchand de Venise".

(33) In "Le National", 23rd Sept. 1830, feuilleton.

About this time, "pupils" of Shakespeare, Calderon, and Schiller began to found a new drama (34), but they met with much opposition. Early in 1830, the Etz theatre staged "Alice, ou les Fossoyeurs écossais" : "les détails de ce mélodrame rappellent trop l'école de Shakespeare, aussi ont-ils justement indisposé le parterre, qui a fort mal accueilli une innovation à laquelle nos mœurs nationales ne sont pas encore habituées" (35).

In the winter of 1832-1833, Miss Smithson brought an English company to Paris. Unfortunately she was unable to enlist all the talent she wanted (36), and, poorly received at the Salle Favart, she and her fellow-actors soon moved to the Chantierine. In mid-January a reviewer (37) wrote : "For my part, I regret that the English players, so promptly disheartened, should have abandoned a theatre where the public, quitting its first indifference, would probably have gone to find them". We know (38) that they performed "Hamlet", "Bertram", "The School for Scandal", "Jane Shore", Sheridan Knowles' "Virginia", Southerne's "Isabella". Though much better than the Wallack and Mrs. West troupe of 1829, this 1832-1833 company was inferior to the famous 1827-1828 players and attracted comparatively little notice in the press and practically none in contemporary memoirs and letters. By their Shakespearian performances, however, they kept fresh in the public mind some sort of idea as to what tragedy might be, and in 1834 a very able writer could say that France now duly merited Shakespeare, and that all those French dramas of the past ten years which were not influenced by Greece had a Shakespearian form (39). That was a prevalent conviction, for we run across the following statement also made in 1834 : "The modern school, which calls itself the inheritor of Shakespeare's literary doctrines [the critic probably means literary theory in the light of Shakespeare's works] and indicates his plays as the expression of the dramatic system that it wants to introduce, should really begin by imitating the master, if not in the characteristics of his genius — that

(34) Dumas: "Souvenirs dramatiques" (2 voll., 1868), I.

(35) "Journal des Comédiens: Gazette des théâtres", 7th Feb. 1830.

(36) *Ibidem*, 18th Nov. 1832.

(37) *Ibid.*, 17th Jan. 1833.

(38) From the "Journal des Comédiens", of Dec. 1832, Jan. 31st (for "Hamlet"), April 28th (for "Virginia") 1833.

(39) "Revue européenne", April 1834, Duquesnel's article on the philosophy of literature.

would be difficult, then at least in his respect for the truth of his persons and for accuracy in historical events" (40). The Romantics (it was said a year later) made it their business to seek abroad new dramatic forms to attract the crowd. The art became English, German, Spanish and what not? and one "plastered" artistically with Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller and others. The public lifted its hat to all the shreds and patches taken from those authors, from Italy and Spain, from all those who, on the demand of our poets, had received letters of naturalisation (41).

Not only Paris but the provinces were awake to the new forces at work in drama, as we see by such a passage (42) as that written by the Le Havre correspondent of the "*Journal des Comédiens*", in 1835: "Un jeune amateur de Londres, assisté de plusieurs autres jeunes amateurs anglais, a donné sur notre scène quelques fragments de "*Richard III*"... La soirée, en général, s'est bien passée. Notre public avait compris l'inconvenance qu'il y aurait eu à ne pas accueillir avec bienveillance les vers du grand poète anglais, au moment où l'on encourage si chaudement chez nous, les imitateurs du plus beau génie tragique dont s'honore la Grande-Bretagne".

Both major and minor dramatic productions were affected by the English influence, and in 1837 an anonymous reviewer (43) wrote: "English vaudeville, for some time apparently, has been invading our theatres, and all these imports, even if they lack in originality, carry at least the hall-mark of singularity".

Now the four years 1838-1841 afford us with very little general external evidence as to the English influence on French drama; but adaptations from Shakespeare, Scott, Cooper and Byron were frequently staged. And original plays were still performed and published to a notable extent: — In 1838 came Hugo's "*Ruy Blas*", while three years later his "*Théâtre*" began to be issued; in 1838-1839 de Vigny's "*Théâtre*" appeared in two volumes; in 1839 arrived Dumas's "*Mlle de Belle-Isle*" and Soulié's "*Diane de Chivry*"; the next year, de Musset's "*Comédies et*

(40) "*La Quotidienne*", 7th June 1834, J. T. on the drama.

(41) "*La Nouvelle Minerve*", mid-1835, C.'s art. "*Du Théâtre*".

(42) "*Journal des Comédiens*", 5th July 1835.

(43) "*Journal des Comédiens: Gazette des théâtres*", 23rd April 1837. In the title of this periodical, the stress was at first laid on the former half; from about 1832 till 1838, on the latter; while in March 1838 it took the name of "*Revue et Gazette des Théâtres*".

proverbes" and Scribe's "Verre d'eau"; and in 1840-1842 Soulié's plays were brought out in book-form.

In 1842, another unimportant English company visited Paris. One of their items was "Arlequin Chasseur", a pantomime, played at the Variétés: "Acteurs, actrices, décors, costumes, tout est anglais"; Nestor Roqueplan, the well-known director of theatrical affairs, interested himself in the welfare of this troupe, which met with great success (44). Earlier in the year, Théophile Gautier (45), better known at this time as sparkling feuilletonist (a more literary Janin) than as poet, significantly declared that the Odéon would do well to stage foreign plays ably translated, and he implied that Shakespeare should be the dramatist most often rendered into French. "De telles imitations, faites fidèlement dans l'esprit et le génie des auteurs, montées avec soin et jouées avec amour par des acteurs intelligents, devraient attirer et intéresser un parterre instruit et lettré comme l'est enfin le parterre de l'Odéon, rempli par les jeunes gens des écoles. — "Macbeth", "Roméo et Juliette", "Othello", "le Marchand de Venise", "Falstaff", ont été déjà traduits de cette manière, et pourraient dès à présent constituer un commencement de répertoire". Shakespeare's influence reacted powerfully on France in the 'forties: "Shakespeare et Byron, Goethe et Schiller, n'ont-ils pas enfin débarrassé notre esprit des langes étroits de l'imitation classique?" (46). On historical as well as tragic drama: "In the last few years", remarked Eugène Maron (47) in 1845, "those of our writers who have composed historical dramas have followed the dangerous example of Shakespeare and the Spaniards, more especially of Shakespeare. On the pretext of impartiality, they too have entrenched themselves in the chronicle, which they have imitated in its partiality". The representation of Shakespeare in French was one of Théophile Gautier's chief aims in the 'forties, and he very clearly expressed his opinions. "Meurice and Vacquerie's "Falstaff" (48) proved that the public was, and is, capable of hearing Shakespeare unalloyed and without toning-down to suit French taste", he said (49) in 1844, when he made

(44) "Revue et Gazette des Théâtres" 21st July 1842.

(45) "La Presse", 14th Feb. 1842, whence comes the quotation.

(46) "Revue indépendante", May 1843, Albert Aubert in the "revue théâtrale".

(47) *Ibidem*, April 1845, in article "Rôle du peuple dans le drame historique et national".

(48) To which Gautier himself had supplied a splendid prologue.

(49) "La Presse", 2nd Sept. 1844.

the further statement (50) : "I confess that I hardly understand, especially at this time of the day, the necessity to recast Shakespeare's plays. It seems to me that it would be much better to play the passable translations of Benjamin Laroche or Letourneur without changing a single word than to rehandle these dramas... M. de Vigny has in his desk a "Shylock" (51) ; there exists Jules Lacroix's "Macbeth", scrupulously literal ; and I know of two excellent translations of "Hamlet". With these riches, to which others would soon be added, one could give the public a true idea of Shakespeare. — What should above all be preserved to-day in translations of this sort, is the colour, both that which is natural to the productions of strangers and even that which is strange (52) ; the singular and characteristic details ; in brief, all that one would formerly have caused to disappear". Most important too for the middle 'forties is the fact that Vivien in his article, "Etudes administratives : Les Théâtres", analysed the English enquiry of 1832, which he proposed to adopt as the basis for his own researches (53).

In the winter of 1844-1845, an excellent company of English actors gave a short season in Paris. The staple of their productions was Shakespearcan, though one of Sheridan Knowles' dramas received warm praise, and at least H. Lucas approved of the presentation of Byron's "Werner" (54). That critic well remarked the significance of the visit (55) : "Bien que certains esprits, et ce qu'il y a de plus plaisant, ce sont ceux qui s'appellent lettrés, conservent un reste de scrupules, la profonde attention et la vive sympathie du public actuel, pendant les représentations d' "Othello" et d' "Hamlet", prouvent un immense progrès dans les intelligences françaises, relativement à la littérature dramatique des Anglais, même depuis 1827". "Othello" and "Hamlet" were favourites (56), enthusiastically reviewed by Gautier ; the former tragedy constituted the "first night". "Macbeth" drew

(50) "La Presse", 2nd Sept. 1844.

(51) In the 1838-1839 edition of his plays, de V. called it "Le Marchand de Venise".

(52) It is difficult to translate literally the original phrase, "la couleur étrangère et même étrange": "colour foreign and even strange" doesn't bring out the play on words.

(53) "R. des Deux Mondes", May 1844, p. 378.

(54) "Le Siècle", 6th Jan. 1845.

(55) *Ibidem*, 22nd Dec. 1844.

(56) "La Presse", 23rd Dec. 1844, Gautier's feuilleton.

a packed house (57), and "Romeo and Juliet", in which Helen Faucit, the leading lady, made a charming Juliet (58), excited almost as much admiration as it had done in 1827; Macready (59) shone in the Shakespearean plays as well as in "Werner". One passage from Gautier's feuilletons in "La Presse" calls imperatively for quotation: "Ces intéressantes productions touchent à leur fin, et cela est fâcheux; il y a encore beaucoup à profiter pour nous dans le répertoire anglais, et une douzaine de soirées de plus auraient pu rendre la spéculation fructueuse, car le public commence à prendre goût à ce spectacle exotique" (60). At the end of their season, that writer stressed the lively and expressive acting of the visitors (61).

The French public must have taken a rather amused and kindly interest in this company if they recalled Achille Denis's article (52) on English character and customs as viewed by French authors of comedy and farce. The whole passage provides not only instructive but entertaining reading:—"It's my opinion that one has much abused the English element as a comic one; with the pretext of amusing us, the vaudevillist gentlemen have surfeited us with beef-steaks, plum-puddings, roast-beef, noblemen as big as houses and stupid as donkeys; this buffoonery and harmless sacrifice of England has long been the great joy of the Parisian audiences! What luck to be able to laugh at one's ease at these shock-headed fellows, these ridiculous faces, these unbelievable oaths, this French so prodigiously mutilated by the Islanders of the Boulevard Montmartre or the Salle Feydeau! Good, charming people, the French, whose national rancour is satisfied with this easy vengeance! The Englishman was the victim, the steel plate built to receive all the blows, all the effects of the bad humour of the French people.—And, after laughing at the foe, after mocking him unmercifully, the public would leave the theatre content and relieved, quite ready to hold out a brotherly hand to the real Englishman that they had met in the street. Englishmen, then, have for a very

(57) *Ibidem*, 14th Jan., Gauthier's feuilleton.

(58) *Ibid.*, 20th Jan. 1845, ditto.

(59) *Ibid.*, 23rd Dec. 1844, and 6th and 20th Jan. 1845, ditto.

(60) *Ibid.*, 14th Jan. 1845.

(61) Those desirous of further details should consult the "Revue et Gazette des Théâtres".

(62) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 4th July 1844, review of the vaudeville, "Les Anglais en Voyage", by Arvers and Davrecourt.

long time been the fashion : any piece containing one was bound to succeed. What a windfall to the vaudevillists ! It is a cause for wonder that they have abused it. M. Scribe, like the clever man that he is, was able to exploit admirably perfidious Albion, to which, indeed, he owes several striking successes. — I can conceive that one previously drew English characters, but I fail to see how the thing can still be done. What interest or what charm can British jokes and broken French have for us now ? And surely the playwrights must put a premium on the talent of an actor when they dare to present on the stage the worn-out types of an old theatrical caricature created in a moment of lively folly by the wit and gaiety of our fathers ? ”

Interest in English acting continued keen. In 1847 we hear of Champfleury preparing to go to England both to study the pantomime and to engage some English actors (63). This professional regard for the drama of Great Britain had, for the Romantics, been inaugurated by Baron Taylor, of whom Dumas (64) said : “Il a pris d’une main la littérature de Corneille, de l’autre celle de Shakespeare, et les a forcées, d’ennemies qu’elles étaient, de s’estimer comme deux émules et de s’embrasser comme deux sœurs”.

The late 'forties saw a temporary school wane, a long established school rise victorious from its struggle with that other — and the stronger for the contest. In 1843, with Ponsard's “Lucrèce”, had sprung up “the School of Common Sense”, to which, on its tragic side, came Latour de Saint-Ybars (65) and Ponroy (66) ; it lasted during the years 1843-1847 (67). Ponsard, the leader, considerably changed his manner after the latter date. Latour de Saint-Ybars's “Vieux de la Montagne”, which in 1847 very shortly followed Ponsard's “Agnès de Méranie”, incurred this criticism (68) : “Les tentatives récentes et malheureuses de l'école de bon sens, de la tragédie difficile et renouvelée du grec

(63) J. Troubat: “Sainte-Beuve et Champfleury”, p. 61; Ch.'s letter to his mother.

(64) “Souvenirs dramatiques”. For a sound and sympathetic account of Taylor (1789-1879), see in “Revue bleue” of 6th Nov. 1880, H. Delaborde's “Vie et travaux du baron Taylor”, who is there called “un romantique avant la lettre”.

(65) His chief plays were “Virginie” (1845), “Le Vieux de la Montagne” (1847), and (also 1847) “Le Syrien”.

(66) His most important play was “Le Vieux Consul” (1844).

(67) I'm not including the work of Augier after 1847; only “La Cigüe” comes properly under the heading of “Bon Sens” tragedy.

(68) “L'Illustration”, 13th Feb. 1847; cf. Janin's feuilleton in the “J. des Débats”, 8th Feb. 1847.

et du latin, ont ranimé l'ardeur des novateurs et réveillé leurs espérances. Ils triomphent de l'humiliation des raciniens ou de ceux qui se donnent pour tels ; ils semblent dire au public : "Revenez à Shakespeare en notre personne, sous peine d'être asphyxiés par l'alexandrin des unités..." Après la soirée d' "Agnès de Méranie" à l'Odéon, et principalement après celle du "Vieux de la Montagne" au Théâtre-Français, nous comprenons jusqu'à un certain point qu'on tienne ce langage et qu'on se remette en campagne sous la bannière du vieux Will". Now, the Shakespeareans had begun what might be called a movement at the beginning of the 'forties, continued it undismayed during the activities of "l'Ecole de Bon Sens", and, after the "débâcle" of that group early in 1847, finished the Romantic period with a magnificent trio of translations, of which two were staged with great and enduring success. In 1840 came Jules Lacroix's "Macbeth", a close, meritorious rendering ; in 1841, Antoni Deschamps's fragments of "Lear", neither of these being played. A year later, Meurice and Vacquerie's "Falstaff", extracted from two dramas, was staged with much success ; 1843 saw played the same authors' "Capitaine Paroles", published in the following year ; in 1844, Emile Deschamps's "Macbeth" et "Roméo et Juliette" appeared in book form, and, four years after, the "Macbeth" created a sensation on the stage ; also in 1844 was played Sauvage and Duhomme's "Lear", which obtained a "succès d'estime", and Léon de Wailly's "Hamlet" was read before a selection committee, but something prevented its being represented ; in 1846 Dumas and Meurice's "Hamlet" was privately rehearsed, to figure on the boards late the next year and to attract much criticism, favourable and adverse, in the contemporary records both on being played and on being reprinted at the end of our period. In addition to Deschamps's "Macbeth" on the stage, Auguste Barbier's "Jules César", highly praised by Alfred de Vigny, was printed in 1848, though it met a worse reception than it deserved,— it merited eulogy (69). Beyond doubt, the visit of the English actors in 1844-1845 gave a powerful impulse to "the Shakespearean movement", and it may have been the cause of dissolution for the "common-sense" tragedy, which must have compared unfavourably with the more

(69) For documentation, see a few pages further on in this chapter, where Shakespearean translations, imitations and borrowings will be treated in greater detail.

forcible, more vivid, and at the same time more philosophical dramas of the great English playwright ; that visit may incidentally have rendered it unwise from a business point of view (70) to produce Wailly's able version of "Hamlet".

In retrospect over the whole Romantic period, Alexandre Dumas wrote in his "Souvenirs dramatiques" (71) : "La grande secousse littéraire qui avait renversé le vieil édifice dramatique avait été communiquée à la France par l'Allemagne et l'Angleterre. La passion de Schiller, la poésie de Goethe, le scepticisme de Byron, et la réalité de Walter Scott, avaient évoqué devant nos yeux les ombres de Louise, de Marguerite, d'Angéline et d'Elisabeth. Nous avons trouvé en elles cette vérité et cette poésie, cette réalité de formes et cet idéal de contours qui manquaient à nos héroïnes".

Much more often than any other single writer, Shakespeare was translated, imitated, adapted, and drawn-on for separate incidents or characters. The French Romantics very confidently boasted of his art and affirmed that the appearance of some of his dramas in Paris would suffice to bring out the excellence of his dramatic system (72). During the first three years of our period, however, Shakespeare, though decidedly in the air, was little imitated ; in 1823, J. A. Buchon (73), remarked that the French now criticised him — and imitated him, while P. F. Tissot (74), furnished the following tit-bit : "Le mépris sur parole que beaucoup de personnes ont encore pour Shakespeare, est un scandale et peut-être un malheur littéraire... ; un écrivain, doué d'une raison éclairée, peut trouver encore la mine la plus féconde dans Shakespeare..... Shakespeare imité par des insensés produira des monstres, mais il peut, il doit féconder un génie, et contribuer à reculer les bornes de l'art pour les modernes". Many writers, more than Tissot expected, did avail themselves freely of this wealthy mine. But in the provinces, Shakespeare was played largely in the adaptations of Ducis ; we know, for example, that Ligier was extraordinarily successful at Lille in "Hamlet" and more especially "Othello" in 1823, 1825, 1833 and

(70) A critic (probably Achille Denis) in the "Revue et Gazette des Théâtres", 10th Nov. 1844, thought just the opposite; but he made his statement before the English actors began their performances.

(71) Chapter entitled "Action et réaction littéraire".

(72) Delécluze : "Souvenirs".

(73) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", 1823, III, 80.

(74) *Ibidem*, 557.

finally in 1850 (75). It is, however, primarily with the capital that we are concerned. In 1824 Lemer cier produced his "Jane Shore" (76), of which a contemporary (77) said : "L'auteur... a emprunté beaucoup à Shakespeare, et a cherché à traduire fidèlement l'image de Richard III, telle que l'Eschyle anglais l'a tracée". Talma is reported (78) to have stated about 1825 : "Je demande Shakespeare, on me donne Ducis" ; he always admired the English dramatist, but didn't live long enough to see the company of 1827-1828, the very news of which stirred the younger generation deeply and passionately (79).

The year 1827 represents an important date in the annals of Shakespearean drama as discussed and practised in France. At the end of June, "Macbeth", a "tragédie lyrique", was played at the Opéra, with ballets, the music being by Chelard, and, though as a literary work it was rather poor, it proved a success (80). It would be at approximately this time that Emile Deschamps wrote to his friend Jules de Rességuier (81) : "We accost brutally a dramatic system very different from ours,... we who can do nothing without Shakespeare... Unfortunately those people who have the most brains and accomplishments arrive in arms against this dramatic system and, however indulgent they may be towards the poet, they are really persuaded that his work cannot be admitted into the French theatre; from lack of sufficient ideas, and precisely on account of their perfect taste and of their just admiration for our master-pieces, they are convinced at the bottom of their hearts that Shakespeare is a barabrian, often a filthy fellow, and that one can there procure only a few pearls in a dung-hill, while as a matter of fact one finds flowers in a magnificent garden". Then, of course, the advent of the English actors amounted to the advent of Shakespeare, who in 1827 was "pressenti, mais pas encore accepté", as Armand de Pontmartin (82) aptly phrased it. "A suspect to the majority of Academicians and tragic dramatists of the Théâtre-Français", continued the democratic count, "as well as joked-

(75) "Souvenirs de théâtre d'un Lillois", ed. by L. Lefebvre, 1890.

(76) Listed by Thieme as "Richard III et Jeanne Shore".

(77) "Le Corsaire", 2nd April 1824.

(78) "Victor Hugo raconté".

(79) *Ibidem*.

(80) See "La Quotidienne", 1st July and "Le Globe", 5th July 1827.

(81) P. Lafond: "L'Aube romantique", E. D.'s letter of probably mid, 1827.

(82) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", I.

about by minor periodicals and flippant criticism, and sent into quarantine by the grave Duviquet in the always influential feuilleton of the "Journal des Débats", Shakespeare had on his side only a group of artists and young men that assembled in the Luxembourg Gardens, in the galleries of the Odéon and in the reading-rooms of the Latin Quarter to declaim and read the beautiful scenes of "Hamlet" and "Macbeth". The "Constitutionnel", liberally Classic, was nearly accusing us of a lack of patriotism". The "bataillon sacré des claqueurs de Shakespeare"—the list (83) is well worth noting—included Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Alfred de Musset, Théophile Gautier, Emile Deschamps, Sainte-Beuve, Philarète Chasles, Chenavard, Barye, Prévault, Louis Boulanger, the brothers Deveria and Johannot, Delacroix, and Paul Huet. During the English season, Moreau (84) asked: "Is it not mid-way between the audacities of Shakespearean drama and the timidity of ours that the regenerator of French tragedy will stand?" And looking back on those days, Delécluze (85) observed: "In seeing Shakespeare's plays, staged carefully at Paris by Kean, Kemble, Macready and Miss Smithson, one momentarily forgot the essential character of the French theatre and allowed oneself to be genuinely moved by the gigantic scaffolding of these dramas. Those who flattered themselves that, to set the French theatre in the way of truth, it would be enough to make it follow the direction taken by the English theatre, and who were struck with the unexpected enthusiasm of the Parisians' welcome to Shakespeare, concluded that these pieces, if translated and therefore understood in their least detail, would produce a still greater effect when played on the French stage".

During the 'twenties, one despaired of having a theatre that was alive and so one knocked at foreign doors. (Ducis had misrepresented Shakespeare in his verses; Guizot put him into prose, but, like de Barante translating Schiller, gallicised him overmuch.) A feeling of daring charged the imagination of all the young men: Pierre Lebrun, after reading Schiller, composed "Marie Stuart" (1820); Alfred de Vigny rendered "Othello" word for word,—a procedure that, rejoicing the shades of the drama-

(83) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", I.

(84) "Souvenirs du théâtre anglais".

(85) "Souvenirs".

tist, scared the ghost of Ducis (86). Such conditions favoured, probably determined, the appearance of Paul Duport's "Essais littéraires sur Shakespeare" in 1828 (87). Immediately after the visit of the English actors, the effect of Shakespeare was making itself felt : "[Quelques jeunes gens] se disaient... que Shakespeare n'était pas beau parce qu'il était anglais, mais quoiqu'il le fût, ils étudiaient le maître... et ils cherchaient à s'inspirer de ces nobles et vivants tableaux de l'histoire et de l'humanité", in the words of Gérard de Nerval (88). A literary manifesto of 1829 supported and proclaimed as one of its articles "le drame tel qu'on le conçoit aujourd'hui, tel que Shakespeare l'a créé", drama that embraces tragedy and comedy in the one frame. On the occasion of de Vigny's "More de Venise", first played near the end of October that year, an anonymous critic (90) remarked that lately Shakespeare had frightened only the scouts of Aristotle ; better translations of his work had been published ; the study of the English language had become more common in France ; the English players had greatly impressed the public. The de Vigny adaptation of "Othello" constituted an event significant not only for the progress of Shakespearean drama in France but for the whole practice and theory of the native theatre. Its importance made some people uneasy : "La tragédie moderne, familière, dramatique, épique.... vient enfin d'être réellement essayée.... Le public... a paru un peu dépaycé au milieu de ces beautés mêlées à tant de trivialités. Il a souvent jugé le traducteur un peu trop fidèle, sans rien ôter de son mérite" (91). The first night aroused much interest, and, according to a very sensible, moderate review (92) of the play, the house was packed, the audience attentive, the acting good, the applause plentiful, the murmurs slight (with a few hisses at the handkerchief incident) : "en somme tout le monde doit être satisfait de ce premier essai. L'élégant traducteur... a mis beaucoup d'adresse à remplacer par d'autres images, les images dont notre délicatesse aurait été effrayée". Before this innovation,

(86) These three sentences paraphrase a passage in A. Houssaye's "Confession", III.

(87) "Le Globe", 12th March 1828.

(88) "L'Artiste", 22nd Dec. 1844, article "Les Acteurs anglais".

(89) "La Jeune France", 5th July 1829.

(90) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XXVII, 173.

(91) "Le Courrier des Théâtres", 25th Oct. 1829.

(92) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XXVII, 172-176; quotation from p. 176.

came Desnoyers, Ader and Fontan's "Gilette de Narbonne", adapted from one of Shakespeare's comedies (93) : after it, Ducange and Anicet's "Macbeth", a melodrama (if you please!) hacked out of Shakespeare's tragedy. It roused "Le Constitutionnel" to the following outburst : "The time has arrived when the industry of the theatre, an industry that seeks everywhere an outlet, is going to serve us Shakespeare wholesale and retail ; at this very moment, translators, imitators, arrangers, all the literary manufacturers are at their job, working, in prose or verse of their own make, on the rich but useless material with which old Shakespeare furnishes them..... God knows what will result from this sudden and formidable "Shakespearean inundation"... ... But it is better for us to be given Shakespeare in his original crudity, Shakespeare whole, with all his grossness and all his genius,... than to see him disfigured, mutilated, outraged as he was when Messers. Anicet and Victor Ducange threw him heavily at the heads of the Porte-Saint-Martin audience" (94). Usually Racine was dragged into passages of this sort ; as Mérimée remarked, the Romantics were constantly setting Shakespeare over against Racine (95).

1830 also looms large in Shakespearean annals. The most important work (if we except the publication of de Vigny's "More de Venise") was de Lamarche's (96) three-act "Marchand de Venise", in verse, in which the French writer, though reducing the scale of the piece, contented himself with translating :

"M. de La Marche a voulu s'en tenir au strict nécessaire. C'était peut-être un tort ; car, par suite de tant de suppressions, l'ouvrage est devenu froid, les personnages ont perdu de leur originalité" (97), it seems, notwithstanding, that this production possessed considerable literary merit. Only a month later appeared Alboize and Dulac's "Shylock", which a contemporary reviewer (98) rightly declared of very inferior worth but criticised for the reason that, given as a Shakespearean imitation, it had attracted the attention of the public and that some sensible, capable people had approved the changes made from the origi-

(93) "Le Globe", 29th July 1829. It was played at the Nouveautés.

(94) "Le Constitutionnel", 11th Nov. 1829.

(95) Mérimée: "H.B." (i. e. Henri Beyle), 1850. Stendhal's "Racine et Shakespeare" was published in 1823.

(96) The name is sometimes written de La Marche.

(97) "Journal des Comédiens", 6th June 1830.

(98) In "Le Globe", 17th July 1830.

nal. Of these two plays, Paul Foucher, capable critic and popular dramatist, has written : (99) "About 1830, Ligier impressed us at the Odéon by presenting, with his customary decisive acting, the character of Shylock in de Lamarche's "Marchand de Venise"... The piece didn't escape hissing, although the author had at the end introduced a much-applauded passage...; but the possibly deliberate protests of a group of young men as timorous in literature as they were advanced in politics... did not prevent the play keeping its place honourably for some time on the hoardings. At the Porte-Saint-Martin..., Bocage figured in a "Shylock" signed Alboize and Dulac... and took the rôle of the Jew with energy ; this part was a success for at least that evening". Two other imitations of the same year deserve mention : at the Odéon was played a weakened and abbreviated form of "Othello", rather contemptuously noticed by the press (100); and, also early in the year, Romieu and Alphonse brought out their "Henri V et ses compagnons" (one asks if Meurice and Vacquerie derived therefrom the suggestion for their "Falstaff"), and in the first act reproduced many of Shakespeare's audacities, thus giving movement to the piece (101). We know too that Shakespearean dramas (most of them being probably the Ducis-adaptations) were done in the provinces by Parisian and local companies (102).

In 1831 Cordelier-Delanoue's "Kernox le Fou" drew on itself a sarcastic remark about "ces fins génies qui se croient de hardis inventeurs, quand ils ont copié Shakespeare et Schiller" (103) ; a year later, Regnier-Destourret set in his "l'Amant espagnol" an original grave-digger in a scene reminiscent (104) of the grave-digging in "Hamlet" ; in 1833, the prolific Théodore Dartois introduced in "Caius Gracchus", a tragedy, a scene imitated from "Julius Caesar" and was told (105) that, only the masters of drama being able to use such incidents suitably, he had been crushed by the memory of Shakespeare and by the imposing success of this situation, while the first three acts of "Les Deux Roses" were imitated from "Henry VI" (106), and Casimir Dela-

(99) "Entre cour et jardin", ch. II.

(100) "Journal des Comédiens", 18th Feb. 1830.

(101) "Le Constitutionnel", 1st March 1830.

(102) "Journal des Comédiens", 4th July 1830.

(103) "Le Constitutionnel", 19th May 1831.

(104) "Revue de Paris", Jan. 1832.

(105) "Journal des Comédiens", 28th April 1833.

(106) "La France littéraire", Aug. 1833, review by Lafon.

vigne in "Les Enfants d'Edouard" turned a full-length portrait into a miniature and magnified the pathetic element (107). Rochefort's comic opera, "l'Aspirant de Marine" (1834) was said to owe more to Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night" than to its author's imagination (108) ; on the other hand, the ballet pantomime, "La Tempête", professedly imitated from Shakespeare, "no more resembled the English work than a puff on the Seine resembled a violent storm in mid-ocean" (109). In 1835 was staged "La Juive", which obtained a great success : "il est évident que Scribe a exploité la popularité de Shylock dans son Elzéar" (110).

The Théâtre-Français was accused of having gone for some years with the stream, and leaving Molière for Shakespeare (111). Moreover, many a noteworthy theft (112) was made from Shakespeare during the years 1830-1837. In 1838 appeared F. Duqué, an able writer's "Castille et Léon" : "dans la dernière partie de son drame, l'auteur a suivi tout à fait la manière de Shakespeare" (113) ; and "La Mort de Clarence", a one-act play in verse, incurred a justly adverse criticism (114). "This shapeless dramatic attempt is the mutilated fragment of the masterpiece", "Richard III" ; it is a piece torn from Shakespeare's fine hood, of which one has made a tattered rag". In 1839, Amédée Duquesnel (115) wrote : "France, habituated to the severe form of her tragedy, has applauded the innovators that initiated her into the secrets of English and German poetry, but the days of surprise have passed ; Shakespeare has been closely read and pondered by a large number of Frenchmen, and the nation is going to become exacting : let our playwrights persuade themselves of that!" And the dramatic situation for the years from "Cromwell" to "Ruy Blas" (1827-1838) was well described by Hippolyte Lucas (116) when he said that during the last years of the Restauration Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny,

(107) "J. des Comédiens", 23rd May 1833. For further details, cf. *infra* in section on C. Delavigne.

(108) "La France littéraire", July 1834, notice by P. Banès.

(109) "Gazette des Théâtres", 18th Sept. 1834.

(110) P. Foucher: "Entre cour et jardin", ch. II.

(111) "Le Constitutionnel", 12th April 1836.

(112) *Ibidem*, 2nd Nov. 1837.

(113) "Revue critique des livres nouveaux", May 1838, notice on that play.

(114) "La Quotidienne", 28th July 1838, notice by J. T., one of that journal's best critics.

(115) "Revue et Gazette des Théâtres", 14th Feb. 1839.

(116) "Revue du Progrès", Feb. 1839, in article "Le Drame en France".

Alexandre Dumas, men endowed with the instinct of reform in the theatre, took for their motto "the boundless liberty of the stage". Inscripting the name of Shakespeare on their banner, they entered the arena in the presence of an astonished and still undecided public. The struggle began ; people with ready-made preferences didn't know what to think. The new poets valiantly maintained the contest. What happened? The innovators employed the procedure of Shakespeare pretty much as their elders had used that of Racine. But Hugo exaggerated the method, while Casimir Delavigne's compromise between Classic and Romantic ideas entailed failure, especially in "La Popularité". Armand de Pontmartin (117), in turn, found inspiration from Shakespeare evident in most of the great literary dramas of 1827-1840.

In 1841 were published the poetical works of Emile and Antoni Deschamps, and prominent therein was the latter's version of part of "Lear" ; "M. Antoni Deschamps a rendu, avec cette simplicité mâle et nerveuse qui le caractérise, d'assez longs morceaux de la pièce anglaise" (118). And in that year Halévy's "Macbeth" gained the suffrage of the Odéon committee. The French writer kept as close to the original as he could, and felicitously reproduced the "purple passages". Hippolyte Lucas (119) thought that too much encouragement could not be given to literary men that (like de Vigny) exercised their talent on Shakespeare's plays, and he believed that Halévy, who had avoided rendering the witch-scenes, should show himself more daring : his faithful and energetic translation should not disappoint readers by omitting to reproduce this essential part of the tragedy. 1842 saw the appearance of Bayard and Duma-noir's "Le Métier et la Quenouille", which, as an anonymous writer pointed out with amusingly sarcastic comment (120), derived from "Cymbeline" : "It seems that these gentlemen don't find Shakespeare's play to their liking, since they have taken it into their heads to rewrite it". Much better known, much more important was Meurice and Vacquerie's "Falstaff", played a few months later. The young authors were praised (121) for kee-

(117) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", 1st series.

(118) "La Presse", 18th Nov. 1844, Gautier's feuilleton.

(119) "Le Siècle", 20th Oct. 1841.

(120) "Revue de Paris", June 1842.

(121) "La Quotidienne", 3rd Oct. 1842, notice by J. T.

ping as close to the original as possible and for employing lively, witty, and striking verse ; for having chosen with rare intelligence, from the two parts of "Henry IV", those scenes which were the most comical, and for composing therewith an entertaining dramatic cento. Achille Denis (122) addressed his readers thus : "You'll doubtless come and applaud the original enterprise of two young poets that have translated Shakespeare into witty and piquant verse. They have showed great skill in preventing the French audience from being scared by the crudities of the English theatre. Laughter was stronger than national pride, and the public expressed its approval most heartily. I'm one of those who believe that French drama will suffer no harm from the success of this literary daring. M. Théophile Gautier's prologue could not be more charming and sparkling, and it had as much success as the piece" ; and, in summary, Denis exclaimed : "What burlesque and vulgar gaiety, but what poetry! What thoughts!" Early in 1843 they produced "*Le Capitaine Parolles*" (123), which was described (124) as "*un petit-acte bouffon pris encore... dans l'écrin de Shakespeare, une vive et charmante pochade qui ne tient pas une demi-heure, mais dont on rit encore dans l'entr'acte. L'affiche porte modestement épisode, lisez hardiment comédie... Traduite en vers les plus pimpants et les plus français du monde, espérons qu'elle ne réjouira pas moins notre bonne humeur française [que le flagme britannique]*" ; it obtained a complete success (125). Of the authors, Jules Janin (126) said in his graphic way : "Ils vous crachent les vers avec une facilité toute pittoresque. Rien ne les gêne ou les arrête...", and he added that this excellent translation, this convincing copy of the thought and wit of the original, this verve imitated both gracefully and audaciously, succeeded very well at the Odéon. Curiously enough, Albert Aubert (127) remarked a little later that in his opinion, the gloomy result of the Shakespearean imitations had already shown the French how rebellious, even to the effort of those who con-

(122) "Revue et Gazette des Théâtres", 2nd Oct. 1842; the play was printed a year later.

(123) Otherwise spelt "Paroles" or "Parole". (The piece was by a supposed "Darcy".)

(124) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 26th Feb. 1843. (The piece was nominally by "Léon Marcel".)

(125) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 2nd March 1843.

(126) "Journal des Débats", 27th Feb. 1843.

(127) "Revue indépendante", Dec. 1843, in his "revue théâtrale".

tented themselves with translating, were the productions of foreign genius : not only was he unduly pessimistic, but the next five years ran rather counter to his assertion.

In 1844, Shakespeare was a favourite with dramatists. Sauvage and Duhomme brought out their "Roi Lear", a "drame en 4 parties" that was arranged with skill and intelligence ; the versification impressed with its elegance and simplicity ; in short, it was a task performed with conscientious talent. The authors, to accommodate "Lear" to the French stage, suppressed various portions—notably the opening scene and the rôle of Edgar (128). The major part in the composition of "Le Roi Lear" was that of Elie Sauvage, who, after ten years' struggle in the provinces, made good very quickly in Paris with this imitation : "c'était là une preuve d'une véritable instinct de lettré", observed Paul Foucher (129). "Les principales scènes de Shakespeare étaient reproduites dans le drame avec intelligence, et le rôle du fou spirituellement développé. J'y ai regretté l'absence du prologue de Shakespeare... et la banalité d'un dénouement heureux", said the same critic (130). In mid-1844 the Odéon received L. de Wailly's "Hamlet", a glowing, faithful translation (131) ; in November, the "Gazette des Théâtres" spoke of this "Hamlet" au grand complet" as almost ready to be staged and mentioned that its author, despite his courage and scrupulous work, feared that it might not be to the taste of the moderates in literature (132) ; two months later, N. d'Abrantès referred to the care Léon de Wailly had expended on his version and added that he had succeeded in producing a style that was at the same time Shakespearean and irreproachably French, thus deserving the approbation of those who took art seriously (133). Yet this "Hamlet" was not staged. Arthur Ponroy (134), one of the "Bon Sens" dramatists, introduced into his tragedy, "Le Vieux Consul", a scene imitated from "Julius Caesar" ; Victor Séjour (135) began "Diégarias", a five-act drama in verse, with a scene refurbished

(128) *Revue indépendante*, Nov. 1844, E. Faure's "revue théâtrale". Staged at the Odéon.

(129) "Entre cœur et jardin". (Elie Sauvage was born in 1813).

(130) "Les Coulisses du passé", p. 134. The principal rôle was played by Rouvière; the piece appeared in book-form in 1845.

(131) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 23rd June 1844.

(132) *Ibidem*, 10th Nov. 1844.

(133) *Ibid.*, 9th Jan. 1845. Auguste Barbier in his "Souvenirs personnels" spoke of this translation "en vers français, des plus remarquables".

(134) "Journal des Débats", 12th Feb. 1844, Janin's feuilleton.

(135) "Le Constitutionnel", 29th July 1844; notice by R. (perhaps H. Rolle).

from "Romeo and Juliet" ; and Guichard's "Catilina" drew from a contemporary critic (136) the observation that the author had been inspired by Shakespeare and Byron,—the dénouement resembled that of "Richard III", while his manner had something spacious, reminiscent, at times happily reminiscent, of the model, Shakespeare.

In 1846 Auguste Vacquerie wrote (137) : "It is sad, it is shameful that marvels of the proportions of "Othello and "Macbeth" exist only for a hundred or so privileged beings and are unknown to the mass of the people. No theatre can assume a task more sublime and illustrious than that of offering to the crowd these plays in all their amplitude and, what is more, with that material and palpable commentary which staging gives a drama". Vacquerie always deserves attention (138), and it is pleasant to see him championing the vulgarisation of Shakespeare. He made that statement on the occasion of the full-dress rehearsal of Dumas and Meurice's "Hamlet" in 1846. That adaptation, as it was presented to the general public (late in 1847), consisted of Meurice's careful translation recast by Dumas to meet the exigencies of dramatisation (139), and it proved very successful. "Au théâtre Historique le succès d'"Hamlet" a dépassé toutes les espérances ; c'est que les auteurs ont eu soin de ne pas imiter Ducis..., et en hommes habiles ils ont compris que Shakespeare seul pouvait dénouer une pièce de Shakespeare" (140). The merit of the translation rests with Paul Meurice : the responsibility of the suppressions and alterations and engrafting (141) belongs to Dumas. The style received little but praise, while the structural changes excited vehement discussion, some critics warmly supporting, others deploring these departures from the original. The conflicting opinions may be summarised thus (142) : Gautier through "La Presse", Jules Janin in the "Journal des Débats", Hippolyte Lucas in "Le Siècle"; defended and even praised Dumas ; A. de Pontmartin for the "Revue des Deux Mondes, R. for "Le Constitutionnel", and

(136) "Revue indépendante", Oct. 1844, in the "bulletin bibliographique" by E. F. (almost certainly Eugène Faure).

(137) In "L'Epoque", 21st Sept. 1846.

(138) Cf. Swinburne's "Vacquerie", 1875.

(139) "L'Illustration", 25th Dec. 1847.

(140) "Echo de la littérature", end of 1847, criticism by Ch. Narrey.

(141) For further details, see the section on Dumas in this chapter.

(142) The six dates are respectively: 20th Dec., 20th Dec., 20th Dec. 1847, 1st Jan. 1848, 20th Dec. 1847, Feb. 1848.

P. Lorain on behalf of "Le Correspondant", blamed and even attacked him.

Both the Meurice-Dumas "Hamlet" and Emile Deschamps's "Macbeth" reached forty performances by the end of our period (143); the joint piece continued into 1848, while the latter appeared near the end of that year. Gautier (144) extended it a warm welcome: "L'Odéon était en fête l'autre soir: le grand nom de Shakespeare, qu'on ne fait pas sonner en vain, avait ameuté la foule sous le classique péristyle: il s'agissait d'un Macbeth traduit en vers par Emile Deschamps, — non pas avec la fidélité rigoureuse de Jules Lacroix, mais avec cette intelligence qui n'ôte à la pensée que son péril... Le théâtre avait fait, pour représenter dignement l'œuvre de Shakespeare, des efforts et des sacrifices dont il faut lui savoir gré dans ce temps de crise et de malaise général". Meurice and then Vacquerie wrote congratulating him enthusiastically (145). In 1849 another version, played at the Opéra, went to a hundred and twenty performances (146). A few months before the earlier run of "Macbeth", Vacquerie produced "Tragaldabas", a "pièce bouffonne en cinq actes et en vers", which owed something of its atmosphere to Shakespeare's comedy in its boisterous phase; Achille Denis (147) described the play as "une bouffonnerie incandescente, une charge audacieuse, le nec plus ultra du grotesque, une création shakespearienne à laquelle nous ne pouvons opposer que *"Falstaff"*". Also in 1848, Maillan brought out his drama, "Les Deux Roses", in which he had arranged Shakespeare in his own fashion and (remarkable thing!) had left him with some features of his original "physiognomy" (148). Nor must we forget Auguste Barbier's "Jules César", which represented a pretty close version, with the philosophical elements developed and emphasised: one easily imagines how attracted the author of "La Curée" and "L'Idole" was by the famous speeches of Brutus and Antony and by the movement of the people.

Looking back on the Romantic period, P. Lorain (149) said: "Depuis qu'on ne s'enroue plus à crier: *"A bas Racine!"*

(143) "Echo de la littérature".

(144) "La Presse", 30th Oct. 1848.

(145) H. Girard: "Emile Deschamps", p. 353, for the letters.

(146) *Ibidem*, p. 351, communication to "la comtesse Dash".

(147) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 24th July 1848.

(148) "Echo de la littérature", near the end.

(149) "Le Correspondant", Feb. 1848, article on Meurice and Dumas's "Hamlet".

on a beaucoup moins de cœur à crier : 'Vive Shakespeare !'. He might more accurately have stated that there was less need, for not only did the Romantics cry "Long live Shakespeare" as the pendent to "Down with Racine", but they used the former phrase to answer a sometimes implied, sometimes shouted "Long live Racine", on the part of the Classics. In 1849, Henri Boucher (150), after reading "Hamlet", entered in his journal this passage : "Un auteur français... pourrait en tirer pour notre scène les plus beaux effets dramatiques ; mais il faudrait... un homme de génie, capable de comprendre le faire de Shakespeare, sans s'inquiéter beaucoup d'en être la copie fidèle. Je crois qu'aujourd'hui plus que jamais le public est préparé pour ce genre d'émotions". Several years after the Revolution of 1848, Victor Séjour produced "Richard III", a fine drama cleverly adapted from Shakespeare ; "le Gloucester de Casimir Delavigne est un cunuque si vous le comparez au Richard III de V. Séjour taillé en plein dans Shakespeare" (151). Also worthy of record, as a post-1848 indication of surviving Romanticism, is this statement by Théodore de Banville : (152) "Si un seul rayon du fulgurant soleil shakespeareien entrerait dans la Comédie-Française, que deviendraient les petits moyens, les petites ruses, les innocents imbroglios, les naïfs stratagèmes, les quiproquos ingénus de feu Monsieur Scribe...?"

This brief account shows that Shakespeare exercised in France more influence in the 'thirties than in the 'twenties, and as much more in the 'forties than in the 'thirties, if we may for the moment restrict influence to mean translation, adaptation, borrowing of incidents. In dramatic theory, the English dramatist was at least as potent in 1840-1848 as in 1830-1839 ; from the visit of the 1827 company, he was the recognised chief of Romantic drama, and every playwright of any note was acquainted with his work ; most of them admired, and many imitated him. To the unorganised enthusiasm of 1827, there succeeded the growing knowledge and increased imitation of the second Romantic decade and the massed, often interacting, group of Shakespearean admirers of the 'forties : Berlioz typifies the first phase, de Vigny and Hugo characterise the second,

(150) "Souvenirs d'un Parisien", I, note of 12th Oct. 1849.

(151) "Justin Bellanger: "La Vie de théâtre". "Souvenirs de jeunesse", 1905.

— Séjour's play was published in 1852.

(152) "Paris vécu. Feuilles volantes", 1883. — Scribe died in 1861.

Meurice and Vacquerie, Wailly and Dumas represent the third. During these years, moreover, the averagely well-educated man was gradually coming to read and like Shakespeare : obviously the public and the body of dramatists reacted the one on the other ; not consciously hand in hand, but involuntarily and as separate groups.

After Shakespeare we reach a number of writers that, mainly belonging to the eighteenth century, exercised an appreciable but far from widespread influence on French drama. Otway fathered Ed. Lanet's "Jaffier", a successful five-act tragedy, which followed, almost step for step, the well-known "Venice Preserved" (153). Rowe's "Jane Shore" was also popular in France : in April 1824, three plays (154) thus entitled were produced in Paris, Lemer cier's, Liadières's, a third put on at the Porte-Saint-Martin, and all three drew largely on the English original. Liadières won high praise for his drama (155), "scrupuleusement imité et versifié avec une élégante correction." In 1828 Mazères inserted in his prose comedy, "Chacun de son côté", a situation bearing a suspicious likeness to that which, in "Jane Shore", features a husband, incognito, entering to his faithless wife and taking vengeance sword in hand (156). Richardson's "Clarissa Harlowe" continued to intrigue the French, though they read it little enough during the Romantic period. In 1833 Dinaux's adaptation deserved the slating (157), "rien n'est plus froid, plus languissant que l'impression qui résulte de ce drame". Thirteen years later, a much better and far more successful adaptation was staged by Dumanoir, Clairville and Guillard, prolific, skilful, second-rate playwrights : "Ils n'ont pris... que juste ce qu'il fallait pour faire leurs trois actes..... Cette pièce a obtenu un très grand succès; elle est fort bien faite" (158). What they extracted, they altered very little (159), "Quant au succès", wrote Vacquerie, "les épithètes tempérées ne

(153) In 1833; see "Journal des Comédiens: Gazette des Théâtres", 25th April 1833.

(154) "La Quotidienne", the April numbers of 1824, for notices on these three. — The third was by Hyacinthe, Jouslin de la Salle, and Alphonse (see "La Pandore", 18th April 1824, for announcement).

(155) "La Pandore", 3rd April 1824.

(156) *Ibidem*, 27th Jan. 1828.

(157) "Annuaire historique universel", the "Chronique" for March 1833.

(158) "Revue indépendante", Aug. 1846, in the "revue théâtrale" by Eug. Maron.

(159) "L'Epoque", 10th Aug. 1846, whence comes the quotation.

suffisient plus: il a été immense". The whole press paid a tribute to the furore it created (160). A month later (September), when the play was still drawing large crowds, appeared the parody, "la Nouvelle Clarisse Harlowe"; at one time in 1846 three different versions were figuring on the Parisian theatres (161); that of Dumanoir and Company reached a hundred performances, lasting into July 1847 (162). Goldsmith seems to have been rather neglected as a dramatist; Sheridan was occasionally imitated. In 1824 Châteauneuf's "Londres au xix^e siècle, ou l'Ecole de Scandale" was long and successfully played at the Théâtre de Versailles; this piece was partly translated, partly imitated from Sheridan's (163). A year later, "Les Deux Cousins" formed an adaptation of the same comedy (164). Lewis's "Monk" invited dramatists, who naturally accepted: in 1831 Fontan's five-act drama, "Le Moine", which emphasised the passionate aspect of the subject, proved very popular (165), and it was revived the following year; in 1833, the Opera-Comique welcomed the less ambitious "Chevalier Noir", based on an incident in "The Monk" and turned into a gay and pleasant little play (166); twelve years after, the thrilling "Marie-Jeanne" made good use of a scene borrowed from that novel (167). Like Lewis, Maturin provided the French stage with several melodramas. One of the earliest was Nodier and Taylor's translation of "Bertram" arranged in melodramatic fashion for the Panorama-Dramatique (168) in 1822; the sub-title was "Le Pirate", and the joint authors drew on Nodier and Taylor very freely indeed (169). Not long after, Franconi's "Melmoth, ou le Fils de l'Enfer" was produced at the Cirque Olympique: "Qui n'a pas lu le roman de D. Maturin, qui n'a pas frémi au récit de toutes les mauvaises actions du héros...? c'est encore pis chez Franconi. Les auteurs ont enchéri sur l'imagination du romancier" (170).

(160) "L'Epoque", 11th August 1846.

(161) See passim "L'Epoque" of Sept. 1846 and the "Echo de la littérature" for that year.

(162) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 15th July 1847.

(163) "Le Constitutionnel", 10th Sept. 1824. — Not "xviii^e siècle": see Qué-rard.

(164) "Mercure du xix^e siècle", VIII, 51.

(165) "Journal des Comédiens", 2nd June 1831.

(166) *Ibidem*, 24th Oct. 1833.

(167) "L'Illustration", 22nd Nov. 1845.

(168) "Le Constitutionnel", 30th Nov. 1822.

(169) "Le Miroir", 28th Nov. 1822.

(170) "La Quotidienne", 23rd March 1824.

More interesting are the debts to Byron. French writers shared the infatuation of the general public for the poems and closet-dramas of the picturesque, the fascinating English nobleman, and doubtless exploited the opportunity to give mediocre plays the backing of an illustrious name. In 1821 an anonymous author brought out "Faliero", a five-act tragedy in verse, at the Théâtre-Français: "Although the gentleman has invented nothing, although he has step by step followed Lord Byron, like a valet his master, it is by no means Lord Byron's work that he has given us, but a fleshless skeleton deprived of movement, colour and life" (171). In 1825 the Cirque Olympique, which glorified the spectacular and the acrobatic, staged a "mimodrame" entitled "Mazzeppa, ou Le Cheval Tartare", imitated from Byron (172). In 1827 the comte de Quatrebarbes wrote a two-act drama, "Le Siège de Corinthe", drawn from the English writer's poem; the comte de Falloux tells us that he never published it and thought that he had "buried" it by presenting it to the Anvers library. Its author remarked: "S'il trouve un seul lecteur, il est bon qu'il sache que ces deux actes furent composés... au fond de l'Andalousie... par un lieutenant d'état-major, âgé de 24 ans... Ce drame fut représenté à San-Fernando..., et traduit depuis en espagnol"; it was well received by its French audience (173). The following year, the Opéra (174) staged a translation of Byron's "Siege of Corinth". In 1829 Casimir Delavigne brought out "Marino Faliero", which he had planned some time before: "C'est un sujet que lord Byron a manqué", he wrote to Mme de Courtin (175), "et que je trouve original et tragique; dites-moi: faites cet ouvrage, et je l'oserai"; she did. Jules Janin (176) took him to task for altering the Byronic version of that dramatic page of history. Charles Séchan's judgment (177) calls for quotation: "This time, it was to Byron that Delavigne addressed himself; but he had neither the strength nor the energy necessary to cope frankly with the histo-

(171) "La Quotidienne", 3rd Oct. 1821.

(172) *Ibidem*, 16th Jan. 1825.

(173) For these details, see le comte de Falloux's "Etudes et souvenirs" (1885), pp. 321-322.

(174) As we learn from Dr. Véron's: "Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris", I.

(175) "Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France", 1900, p. 249, in M. Souriaux's article, "Le Roman de Casimir Delavigne"; letter of 5th June 1826.

(176) "La Quotidienne", 1st June 1829.

(177) Ch. Séchan: "Souvenirs d'un homme de théâtre", ed. by A. Badin, 1883.

rical truth, respected by the English poet; he toned down the daring portions, blunted the points, and consequently arrived at a result lacking grandeur and brilliance. The strangest part about it all was that, in his preface, Delavigne thought of only one thing: defending himself (and he did so with vivacity) against the charge of slavish imitation". It was, however, true that he didn't copy Byron literally (178), but he exaggerated his own independance in the matter: like many impressionable people, he assimilated thoroughly and, perhaps sincerely, protested his originality.

In 1833, J. A. David (179) said with special reference to the theatre: "On semble aujourd'hui n'avoir pas assez d'horreur, de férociétés morales... A quoi donc s'en prendre de cette joute acharnée d'infamies, de turpitudes et de scandales?... Est-ce à la déplorable influence de "Lara", le sceptique le plus noir, le plus âcre, le plus calomniateur qui fût jamais? Oui, je le crois, c'est toujours le fatalisme de la mode, le despotisme de l'homme de génie du siècle: Byron". That Byron's influence sometimes tended to produce melodrama in France, we do not deny; but J. A. David ascribed to the poet rather too great a sway, which wasn't always so nefarious as he said. 1834 voted strongly for Byron: Cocquatrix (180) took the plot of his drama, "L'Italie", from "Werner": Aloin (181) used "Sardanapalus" for his similarly-named tragedy in verse; and Ancelot (182) dramatised a phase of the poet's life in "Lord Byron à Venise". A year later, a reviewer (183) wrote as follows: "Young men with the hearts of school-boys wanted to borrow the mantle of Byron and that of his Giaour; they wished to have their "wound in the side", their "star in the sky", their "pain and fatal destiny", their "soul's desire" and a drama in their hand-bag; for the majority of these peices, unable to figure on the stage, have lain idle in note-books". That state of things continued for a while. In 1838 appeared "Parisina", a melodrama by Félix Romani (184), who, warming

(178) Cf. *infra*, this chapter, section on Casimir Delavigne.

(179) "La France littéraire", March 1833, in the theatrical chronique.

(180) "La France littéraire", April 1834, Desessart's notice on the French play.

(181) "Gazette des Théâtres", 19th Jan. 1834.

(182) *Ibidem*, 9th Nov. 1834. For remarks, thereon, see Ch. Monselet's "Souvenirs littéraires", 1888.

(183) "Gazette des Théâtres" 3rd Nov. 1835, article by Alfred V. (Vanauld, no doubt).

(184) "Le Siècle", 26th Feb. 1838, review by H. L., probably Hippolyte Lucas, who, on becoming an esteemed critic, soon after signed his name in full.

himself at the fire of Byron's delightful poem, succeeded in composing an interesting play in verse. The next five years marked rather a slump in dramatic imitations from Byron, but the middle and later 'forties saw a partial revival. Lefèvre's "Sardanapale" came in 1844 and merited the indictment made by the sound J. T. of the "Quotidienne": "A character like Sardanapalus could be understood and dramatised only by a genius such as Lord Byron. M. Lefèvre has confined himself to composing a melodramatic hero; he has put into prosaic verse the grand poetical thoughts of the original and has diluted some splendid situations into trivial and vulgar scenes" (185). F. Dugué's "Les Pharaons" gained a brilliant and striking success at the Second-Théâtre-Français: "La pièce est biblique et byronienne: elle descend directement d'Abraham et d'Agar, et elle s'est arrêtée à la lecture du Sardanapale de lord Byron" (186). In 1847 arrived a dramatic symphony entitled "Manfred", indebted to the great English lyrical drama (187). After the idleness caused by the Revolution of February, which sadly upset the theatrical world, the Odéon successfully recommenced its activities with Lafont's skilfully adapted verse translation of "Werner"; "M. Charles Lafont a dissimulé de son mieux tout ce que le sujet a de vieux dans la forme; il a tiré en même temps un heureux parti de quelques belles situations qui s'y trouvent" (188). Considering the difficulties inherent in recasting poems and closet-drama for every-day use on the stage, we feel that the French playwrights really did rather well with their adaptations from Byron, though of course they advanced their work under the aegis of one the greatest favourites of modern times.

The imitators of Scott also predisposed the public in their favour when they borrowed titles, plots, characters and incidents from the "Waverley novels". The Romantics, especially the small fry, were decidedly opportunists: they must be congratulated on their literary acumen. In December 1822 Guilbert Pixérécourt, almost as prolific and almost as popular as Scribe during the first score years of our period, contributed to the *Gaieté* "Le Château

(185) "La Quotidienne", 6th May 1844.

(186) "Gazette des Théâtres", 1st June 1845; reprinted from a late May number of "Le Glaneur", a periodical issued at Chartres.

(187) "Le Siècle", 8th Feb. 1847; the author was L. Lacombe (the reviewer, *Ch. de Matharel*).

(188) "L'Union", 24th July 1848. (The name is sometimes spelt Lafon.)

de Loch-Leven" (189). Some months earlier, Frédéric and Boirie had produced their three-act melodrama, "Le Château de Kenilworth", at the Porte-Saint-Martin, while the Théâtre-Feydeau was preparing a comic opera taken from the same source: (190) these two plays attracted the sarcastic comment (191), "Quand on aura encore pris là-dedans deux vaudevilles et une pantomime, il est probable qu'il n'y restera plus rien", words indicating that theatrical loans from Scott were prevalent so early as 1822. It was in the next year the "Le Corsaire" piquantly cried: "Grande nouvelle pour les amateurs de romans! Le célèbre Walter est, dit-on, arrivé à Paris, avec une cargaison d'ouvrages inédits. Messieurs les fabricants de mélodrames, taillez vos plumes...!" (192) In 1825 Ach. Dartois and Théodore Anne did little justice to one of Scott's novels in "l'Exilé", a two-act play with songs interspersed (193); soon after, the English adaptation of "Ivanhoe" was translated into French and played as opera in Paris (194). 1827 was a red-letter year in the chronicle of Scott's popularity on the Parisian stage. "One and the same evening", said Armand de Pontmartin (195), "the Théâtre-Français gave us "Louis XI à Péronne", extracted by Mély-Janin from "Quentin Durward"; the Odéon, "Le Labyrinthe de Woodstock"...; the Opéra-Comique, Scribe and Aubert's "Leicester", taken from "Kenilworth", and the next day, "la Dame Blanche", inspired by "The Monastery" and "Guy Mannering"...". Early in the year, Mély-Janin adapted "Quentin Durward" as "Louis XI à Péronne" and fully acknowledged his debt; to his credit, he did his work skilfully (196) and he gained a marked success (197). His death, which came very soon after, deprived French literature of a dramatist that might well have become the most capable of the Scott adapters. Three versions of "Kenilworth" were produced: at the Porte-Saint-Martin, at the Feydeau (198), and at the Théâtre-Français, the first two as "Le Château de Kenilworth", the third as "Emilia";

(189) "Le Constitutionnel", 9th Dec. 1822.

(190) "La Quotidienne", 1st April 1822.

(191) *Ibidem, ibid.*

(192) "Le Corsaire", 26th Sept. 1823, section "Butin".

(193) "Le Constitutionnel", 11th July 1825.

(194) "Le Courrier des Théâtres", 16th Sept. 1826.

(195) "Mes Mémoires. Seconde jeunesse", p. 3.

(196) "La Quotidienne", 19th Feb. 1827 (cf. "Le Constitutionnel" for same date).

(197) *Ibidem*, 26th March 1827, p. 4. — Cf. la comtesse Dash: "Mémoires des autres", III, 31; she calls the play "Quentin Durward".

(198) "Le Constitutionnel", 3rd Sept. 1827.

this last was written by Soumet, who was blamed for descending to the rôle of a mere "arranger" and for perpetrating a very poor piece ("mais que vraisemblablement tout Paris voudra voir et juger") (199), though another critic (200) found the characters passable, several of the situations powerful and some of the dialogue copied almost literally from Scott. Late in the year, "Le Caleb de Walter Scott", which had previously graced the boards of the Théâtre-Madame in de Wailly's "La Folle", was staged at the "Nouveautés" (201). Such a number of imitations caused "La Quotidienne" to say: "The ingenious Walter Scott has already furnished our theatres with many dramatic subjects. The enfranchisement from ordinary rules has even permitted the playwrights to follow the novelist from the first page to the last, and so melodrama, which is hardly entitled to show itself more severe than comedy, should take possession of "Peveril of the Peak" and "Rob Roy"." (202) Very soon after, a theatrical critic remarked that Scott might almost claim a pension from French writers of dramas, melodramas and even vaudevilles, because they had long drawn on his novels (203). In 1828 Alexandre Duval produced "Charles II, ou Le Labyrinthe de Woodstock", which, well-constructed and interesting, caused a reviewer to admit that one could hardly complain of the Scott-invasion if such plays as this were the usual result (204); Victor Ducange's "Fiancée de Lammermoor" aroused conflicting opinions, one periodical (205) praising the author for his comprehension of the original, and finding the piece full of interest, movement and life, another (206) proclaiming a deservedly mediocre success. Three years later, two more adaptations appeared: "La jolie fille de Perth" (207) at the Gaité, and at the Gymnase "L'Irlandais" with the three main characters (208) indebted for their portraiture to "The Bride of Lammermoor". Despite this popularity, Scott was questioned as to whether he was a suitable source for dramatists. The anonymous author of the article "Walter Scott, au

(199) "Le Globe", 6th Sept. 1827.

(200) "Le Constitutionnel", 3rd Sept. 1827.

(201) "Le Globe", 18th Dec. 1827.

(202) "La Quotidienne", 20th Dec. 1827.

(203) "Le Courrier des théâtres", 11th Jan. 1828.

(204) "Le Constitutionnel", 17th March 1828.

(205) "Le Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XX, 636.

(206) "Le Globe" 29th March 1828.

(207) "Journal des Comédiens", 10th March 1831.

(208) "La Quotidienne", 14th Sept. 1831.

théâtre", pertinently wrote. (209) "Who, on reading the delightful, fresh and living works of the Scotch novelist, has not said : 'There, there is a play. It would be profitable to transport on the stage such original compositions'. Well, that's a mistake, as we can prove. Some authors have made the attempt and met with reverses and misfortune. "Louis XI", "Kenilworth", etc., have successively displayed on our theatres their long defects, their interminable expositions, their painful imbroglio, their crowd of rôles, and have caused the audience an ennui scarcely tempered by momentary interest... ..The playwrights cannot make up their mind to sacrifice a given situation or to omit such and such a character... He alone will successfully transfer Scott to the stage who manages to extract an interesting, simple and single action, free from accessories ; something that will, in short, form a play and not a novel divided into acts; something that will reflect Scott without being a slavish copy". That was not an exceptional opinion, for in 1833 J. T. of the "Quotidienne" pronounced as follows : (210) "nous avons toujours pensé qu'il était très difficile de mettre à la scène un roman de Walter Scott. Les créations de ce grand écrivain sont trop complètes, trop bien liées dans toutes leurs parties, les événements se suivent et se rattachent avec trop d'art, les caractères y sont développés avec trop de soin et trop de travail, pour qu'on puisse parvenir à extraire d'un tout aussi compacte, les éléments et les épisodes d'une action dramatique". This conviction was evidently gaining ground, for Scott was less imitated on the stage after 1830 than before that date. The decrease resulted not from the novelist's lessening vogue, for he was just as popular in the second as in the first decade of the Romantic period, but from the inevitable exhaustion of the original field: the playwrights avoided recasting stories already converted, perhaps twice or thrice, to stage purposes. One is rather surprised, indeed, that there should have been so many imitations of Scott after his death. In 1833 Scribe and Planard brought out "La Prison d'Edimbourg", a comic opera, which hit the fancy of the public; Scribe was a man little given to serving a lost cause. A contemporary critic (211) observed that Scott's novels were still "une source inépuisable à laquelle ont puisé profusément nos vaudevillistes, nos mélodramaturges et nos

(209) "Journal des Comédiens", 10th March 1831.

(210) "La Quotidienne", 22nd July 1833.

(211) "Gazette des Théâtres", 28th July 1833..

faiseurs d'opéras comiques". He mentioned, besides pieces already noted in detail, "La Neige" and "La Dame Blanche". Of all these plays, "La Prison d'Edimbourg" and "La Dame Blanche" proved the most popular; they figured in the repertory as late as 1841 (212). In 1834 "Le Revenant", an opera (213), showed derivation from "Redgauntlet"; while Dartois and Eugène's "Le Caleb de Walter Scott" had continued its season into the previous year (214). Two years later, another opera, Mélesville's "Sarah, ou l'Orpheline de Glencoe" brought Scott under contribution, the "Chronicles of the Canongate" being the source (215). In 1840 the Théâtre-Madame produced a rehash of plays acted on three or four occasions some years before and called it "La Comtesse de Leiceister", containing numerous powerful situations (216); and Hippolyte Lucas, now prominent, spoke of the abyss that had engulfed so many pretended historical dramas engendered by the Waverley novels (217). In 1842 appeared Romand's "Dernier Marquis", which embroidered an episode taken from "Woodstock" — the struggle between the aristocracy and the people (218). The following year, Foucher and Alboize staged their "Redgauntlet", which, a capable drama, departed considerably from the original (219), while Berthet, imitating "The Adventures of Nigel" in "La Belle Drapière", changed the locality and the costumes but then followed the novel step by step (220). A year after, Foucher again had recourse to Scott, and with "The Talisman" composed an opera, "Richard en Palestine" (221). One of the last adaptations was made in 1847, when Beauvallet issued his five-act tragedy in verse, "Robert Bruce", which was largely indebted to "The Lord of the Isles". It seems that the imitation was very close (222), especially in the first two acts, where Scott served as "guide and support": this forms the only noteworthy

(212) This is an inside date. See *passim* the "R. et Gazette des Théâtres".

(213) "Le National", 6th Jan. 1834.

(214) G. d'Heylli: "Bressant... documents", 1877. This play was also produced by the French company at St. Petersburg in 1843, as we learn from the same book.

(215) "Le Constitutionnel", 29th April 1836.

(216) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 11th Oct. 1840.

(217) "Le Siècle", 26th Oct. 1840.

(218) "Les Coulisses", 11th Aug. 1842.

(219) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 23rd Feb. 1843.

(220) "Le Satan", 6th Aug. 1843.

(221) "Le Siècle", 14th Oct. 1844.

(222) "Le Constitutionnel", 7th June 1847.

instance of his poetry being turned into drama. All in all, therefore, the great novelist provided the plot and the characters of many plays, of which very few had much literary merit, though some ran for a long time: the French playwrights were swept away by his tremendous vogue and the deceptive aptness of his stories.

Of the French dramatists that must be treated individually, the first is Casimir Delavigne, semi-Classic. "Quand l'imagination lui manque et qu'il s'attache à Byron ou à Shakespeare, il ne peut parvenir à leur hauteur et il est obligé de s'arrêter au tiers, au milieu tout au plus de l'ascension", observed Dumas (223). In 1836 an anonymous writer (224) said that Delavigne had composed several excellent works, especially when he walked with the support of Shakespeare in "Les Enfants d'Edouard", of Walter Scott in "Louis XI", of Byron in "Marino Faliero". A necrological notice contained the words: (225) "M. Delavigne ne fut rien moins qu'un inventeur. Au lieu d'imaginer de son propre chef, il se reposait volontiers de ce soin sur Shakespeare ou Byron, et se contentait de 'se tailler un pourpoint dans ces manteaux de rois' ". According to Armand de Pontmartin (226), he was alarmed by what Jouy and Arnault called "the invasion of the Barbarians", and attempted to institute a system of accommodation and transaction, "de ratisser le jardin de Shakespeare". In "Le Paria" he imitated (227) that famous passage in "The Merchant of Venice": "I am a Jew; has not a Jew eyes?" Duviquet (who used to put "C." under his articles in the "Journal des Débats") thought that the borrowing was very neatly used (228). "L'Ecole des Vieillards" took from Rowe's "Jane Shore" a "purple passage" (229). "Louis XI" was much indebted to English literature: Eugène Briffault (230), a very solid critic that ended his days in a mad-house, declared that this piece proceeded not only from Scott but from the Parisian vogue of the novel in question ("Durward"); Dessalles-Régis (231) remarked that Delavigne had above

(223) "Mémoires", IX, 125.

(224) "La Nouvelle Minerve", 1836.

(225) "L'Illustration", 23rd Dec. 1843. Cf. "Le Journal des Débats", 21st Oct.

1835, remarks by L. V. (Louis Viardot).

(226) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", V.

(227) "Revue de Paris", Aug. 1832, article by Pichot.

(228) "Journal des Débats", 20th Jan. 1828.

(229) Moreau: "Souvenirs du théâtre anglais à Paris".

(230) "Le Temps", 4th Dec. 1838.

(231) "R. des Deux Mondes", 1840, II, 260.

all essayed a laborious and patient portraiture of the king, with many debts to Scott; Dumas (232), having referred to the excellence of Mély-Janin's "Louis XI à Péronne", said that Delavigne didn't scorn to ally himself with the Scotch novelist, "seulement, comme, auprès de beaucoup de gens, Walter Scott était impopulaire en France à cause de son "Histoire de Napoléon", Casimir, en sa qualité de *poète national*,... n'avait pas voulu avouer tout haut cette alliance"; while the keen eyed J. T. (233) noticed that the scene of the place-hunting courtiers in the last act bore a striking resemblance to just such a passage in Shakespeare's "Henri IV". "Les Enfants d'Edouard" also much intrigued the comparative critics of the day (1833). "L'auteur doit se féliciter... d'avoir trouvé dans une des plus belles conceptions de Shakespeare les éléments d'un succès que le public a adopté comme national" (234). Some critics state that he got the idea from a painting by Delaroche; others (235), and they seem to be right, that Louis-Philippe suggested it to him. Hippolyte Lucas (236) said that Delavigne wished to combine the strong emotions of the English theatre with the regularity of the French and to hit on the golden mean between Shakespeare and Racine: "C'est un des plus heureux essais qui aient été tentés dans ce genre". An unsigned article of 1833 offered the following noteworthy criticism (237): "Elizabeth, Edward's sons, Gloucester,—M. Delavigne found these characters waiting for him in Shakespeare... In the work that he did on the original, M. Delavigne diminished Richard's immensity, and he could hardly do otherwise, space not permitting him to enclose this colossus in three acts... On the other hand, M. Delavigne developed the characters of the two young victims, which are only sketched in the original; he amplified if not enlarged them; he found in Shakespeare the germ of young Edward's melancholy, the sly and malicious vivacity of the little Duke of York, and laid these qualities over the whole surface of his tragedy". Gustave Planche (238) wrote this curious passage: "Je ne ferai pas à l'auteur... l'injure de lui rappeler le Richard III de Shakespeare. Je ne lui proposerai pas de s'agenouiller devant

(232) "Souvenirs de 1830 à 1842", II.

(233) "La Quotidienne", 12th Feb. 1832.

(234) *Ibidem*, 5th June 1833.

(235) E. g. Jouslin de la Salle: "Souvenirs sur le Théâtre-Français", p. 5.

(236) "Le Siècle", 10th July 1843.

(237) "Le National", 26th May 1833; by X.

(238) "R. des Deux Mondes", June 1833, on this play.

l'image d'un dieu qui n'a jamais reçu ses prières"; not his prayers perhaps, but his admiration and very decidedly his attention. Mary-Lafon (239) thought "*Les Enfants d'Edouard*" a pale imitation and wrote a slashing article that greatly disturbed Delavigne and his friends Charles Malo and Scribe, while Dumas (240) stated that the author had diluted and "prettified" the original to an unpardonable degree. "*Marino Faliero*" owed much to Byron, as the contemporary critics definitely noticed, and one of them actually wrote: (241) "Nous ne nous étonnons pas que M. Delavigne, après avoir tant de fois traduit Byron, se soit enhardi jusqu'à le refaire". J. T. of "*La Quotidienne*" ably criticised the piece as follows: (242) "Seduced by the splendour that Byron's name had shed on this subject and perhaps also by the dramatic possibilities of this historical event,... Delavigne composed a tragedy with the data of the English poem. Comparing the two works, one finds the same story, the same march of events, the same persons, and almost the same characterisation; only, he has changed the pivot on which the action turns, and his thought seems to us less fresh and less touching than that of Byron". Cuvillier-Fleury (243) pronounced thus on the original and the adaptation: "Lord Byron a traité ce sujet avec une grande supériorité, mais les beautés de la pièce anglaise appartiennent en propre à l'imagination du poète, et je doute qu'il soit possible de les transporter sans péril dans un autre ouvrage. Quant aux défauts, il était plus facile de les éviter, et M. Casimir Delavigne s'en est, je crois, très heureusement tiré". Shakespeare's influence was noted therein by Nodier (244), who ascribed to the inspiration of that dramatist in particular and of the English theatre in general both the scene of the ball and the episode of the duel. The main alteration made by Delavigne was his rendering the heroine an adultress (245). And finally in "*La Fille du Cid*", one of his latest works, he attempted to develop the Cid of Spanish legend in the manner of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (246), "tout en renfermant son personnage dans la prison des unités". It is true

(239) "Cinquante ans de vie littéraire", 1882.

(240) "Mes Mémoires", IX, 129-130.

(241) "Revue de Paris", Jan. 1836, last "bulletin littéraire".

(242) "La Quotidienne", 1st Feb. 1836.

(243) "Journal et correspondances intimes", Journal, 20th Jan. 1829.

(244) "Revue de Paris", June 1829.

(245) "Dumas has noted this in his "Mémoires", vol. IX, section on Delavigne.

(246) "Le Siècle", 6th April 1840, review by H. Lucas.

that Casimir Delavigne was an eclectic and that he tried to fuse the Classic and the Romantic methods in drama; but it is equally true that his most romantic plays were just those in which he adapted Shakespeare, Scott and Byron, to whom he owed a very great deal.

Soumet, another semi-Classic, was influenced by English literature, not so much as Delavigne, but notably as we see from the statement (247) made in 1828: "Thanks are due to M. Soumet, who with laudable patience transports many products of foreign drama into our theatre, with the precaution of arranging them to our taste. By his offices we have had Schiller, Shakespeare, Walter Scott, Alfieri..." A very competent critic, A. Bignan (248), drew attention to the fact that his dramas bear witness to the conscientious study of the Greek theatre, Shakespeare and Milton, Schiller, the great French playwrights and Chateaubriand, and that from this intimate commerce he has unconsciously imitated some of their types. "Saul", 1822, showed the influence of two English writers, Shakespeare and Milton, the former's "Macbeth" witches suggesting the apparition of the Witch of Endor (249), the latter's epic grandeur affecting the sweep and composition of the piece (250). In "Cléopâtre", Soumet chose Shakespeare for guide and model (251), and, taking his plan and persons, he followed almost the same gradation in the development of the action. "Emilia" constituted more exact imitation (252), the subject being that of Scott's "Kenilworth"; one critic put the case rather cruelly: (253) "[M. Soumet] s'est arrangé sans façon de Walter Scott et d'Amy Robsart, pour venir à bout des cinq grands actes et de la prose sonore d'"Emilia" ". This theme had been handled previously: Soumet gave it fresh life with well-drawn characters and attractive scenes (254), though he often kept very closely to the original dialogue (255). Soumet's Classical friends protested: "'Emilia' est un parjure", cried Duviquet (256), "C'est

(247) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XXI, 230.

(248) "Le Moniteur Universel", 4th Feb. 1845.

(249) "Revue indépendante", July 1845. Ch. Casson's art. on Soumet.

(250) "Moniteur universel", 26th Nov. 1822, article by V. Hugo.

(251) "Le Constitutionnel", 5th July 1822, article by Evariste D...

(252) "Revue indépendante", July 1845, article by Casson.

(253) "Le National", 28th April 1831.

(254) "Annuaire historique universel" for 1827, in the "chronique" at 1st Sept. 1827.

(255) "Le Constitutionnel", 3rd Sept. 1827.

(256) "Journal des Débats", 3rd Sept. 1827.

un sacrifice fait contre la conscience de l'auteur à l'idole du romantisme". In "Une Fête de Néron", he returned to Shakespeare and borrowed a couple of situations from "Hamlet" to convey the powerful working of conscience and remorse (257). That so solid and dignified a writer should have freely utilised English literature during the years 1822-1830 indicates the leaven operating in French drama, the charm that Shakespeare, Scott and Milton were casting on the literature in general.

Pierre Lebrun in "Le Cid d'Andalousie" (1825) may have owed something to Shakespeare, Pichat in "Léonidas" of the same year perhaps drew on Glover's poem of that name, but external evidence is silent on these two points (258). There can be little doubt, too, that the closet historical drama (259) of 1818-1832 was noteworthily indebted to Shakespeare's "histories", but external evidence says little or nothing as to English influence on P. L. and A. M. Roederer, Cavé and Dittmer, and Loève-Weimars. But for Vitet it does tell us something. "Qu'est-ce que les "Barricades"? C'est encore du Walter Scott, de l'histoire en action et en mouvement... Mais c'est Walter Scott, quittant la forme du roman pour prendre celle du drame" (260), while another critic remarked: (261) "L'auteur paraît avoir été inspiré par ces dialogues où Walter Scott nous fait pénétrer avec tant d'art dans la vie intérieure de ses héros". In 1829 came "La Mort de Henri III", of which an anonymous reviewer said that, despite his admiration for Shakespeare and his readiness to imitate him, Vitet was unable to introduce flexibility into his composition or his tone (262).

Partly Classic, partly Romantic, partly Realist, Scribe occupied a prominent place right through the Romantic period, much more for his skilful technique and rarely-mistaken opportunism than for literary ability of the deeper sort. But he affords a very interesting commentary on the English influence at work

(257) "La Quotidienne", 11th Jan. 1830.

(258) Lebrun knew and admired the work of Shakespeare and Scott: see the "R. d'histoire litt. de la France", 1913, pp. 346-384. P. Bonnefon's "Pierre Lebrun et le Cid d'Andalousie". I've seen only one mention of Glover's "Léonidas" in connection with the French poem, and then no orientation was stated or implied.

(259) J. Marsan in "La Bataille romantique" has a long and excellent chapter, "Le Théâtre historique et le Romantisme".

(260) "Journal des Débats", 5th July 1826.

(261) "Revue encyclopédique", May 1826, p. 527.

(262) "La Revue française", July 1829.

on French literature. "Scribe, à ses débuts", said Armand de Pontmartin (263), "se révélait librettiste admirablement ajusté à l'esprit et au goût du moment pour Walter Scott". Not only at his entry into the dramatic arena, for in 1838 it was observed (264) that he extracted his vaudevilles from a large number of novels and short stories, old and new, sometimes used the very dialogue, and affected Perrault, Lesage, Mme Riccobini and Mme Cottin, Gay, Mrs. Inchbald and Miss Edgeworth, Walter Scott. In "La Dame Blanche" (1825), which had a tremendous and lasting vogue, he picked what he wanted from the whole lot of the Waverley novels (265); a year later, he and Courcy took over the characters and principal situations of Mrs. Inchbald's "Simple Story" for their similarly titled play (266). He certainly had a keen eye for the main chance: in "La Juive" (1835), he borrowed the two most telling rôles, his Elzéar being Shakespeare's Shylock and his Rachel, Scott's Rebecca (267); in 1840, his frequent collaborator Vanderburch, on asking a publisher for a likely subject, was told that Marryat's "Japhet" might do, and the pair thought long and hard, made a two-act vaudeville, and then expanded it into a comedy for the Théâtre-Français (268). He saw that Lewis's "Monk" was a thriller (269) and produced the melodramatic "Nonne sanglante", while about 1850, when Shakespeare enjoyed popularity in France, he brought out an opera (270) based on "The Tempest". Such a record of time-serving points very definitely to the powerful influence exercised by English literature on French drama.

Less competent as a technician, far less productive as dramatist, Victor Hugo, despite his desire and practice of "playing to the gallery", revolutionised the French Romantic theatre by his prefaces and his plays. The importance of "Hernani" has been exaggerated, for de Vigny and Dumas preceded Hugo in the field with their "More de Venise" and "Henri III et sa cour", yet "Hernani" was made much more a rallying-point of the Romantics

(263) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", I.

(264) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 29th April 1838, de Normond's article on Scribe.

(265) "Le Constitutionnel", 12th Dec. 1825.

(266) "Journal des Débats", 28th May 1826.

(267) Ch. Séchan: "Souvenirs d'un homme de théâtre".

(268) "Echo de la littérature", July 1840, article by Pître-Chevalier.

(269) "Hector Berlioz. Lettres intimes", ed. by Ch. Gounod, 1882; letter of 3rd Oct. 1841.

(270) Er. Legouvé: "Soixante ans de souvenirs", III, 290

than were the other two pieces. Like de Vigny and Dumas, Victor Hugo was a disciple of Shakespeare. Casting aside the unities, he solemnly put the immense and supple method of the English dramatist in the place of the rigid and "correct" manner of Racine (271). What a contemporary (272) thought an unfortunate destiny caused him to caress fondly the idea that he had a vocation for Shakespearean drama, and another stated that Hugo, possessing only one type for the ugly and the animal, introduced Caliban into his plays (273). Though internal evidence clearly proves a marked Shakespearean orientation, several eminent critics denied or reduced it to a minimum: "Victor Hugo, dramaturge, est bien plus l'élève de Voltaire qu'il ne le croit, et bien moins l'élève de Shakespeare qu'il ne le dit" (274), to quote Ernest Legouvé; Zola, a very different writer, said (275) that he thought Hugo's imitation of Shakespeare slight, while "l'alliance de la comédie à la tragédie qu'on lui a tant reprochée, règne à un bien plus haut point chez son devancier". But even the Racine-loving Legouvé and the self-assertive novelist avoided postulating an absence of Shakespearianism in the drama of Victor Hugo: "Cromwell", in the preface and the text, showed Hugo an admirer and an imitator of the English dramatist; in the composition he attempted to use some of the variations so skilfully employed by Shakespeare, but he constantly exaggerated his manner (276). The language of the Puritans was largely based on the conversation of those sectaries as depicted by Scott (277), who suggested "Amy Robsart". He had begun this play as early (278) as 1822; Paul Foucher saw and liked it. "Donne-moi ta pièce, dit Foucher. — Qu'en feras-tu? — Je la ferai jouer; cela m'ouvrira un théâtre. — Prends-la, mais elle sera de toi désormais. — Et de Walter Scott. Tu m'autorises à y faire des changements? Tous ceux que tu voudras; il est bien entendu que je ne m'en occupe en rien" (279). This piece, in which the Waverley novelist was followed step by step, proved a failure (280) at the end of the

(271) "Le Temps", 13th Feb. 1838, Camille Baxton's article on H.

(272) "Revue européenne" Dec. 1833, notice on "Marie Tudor".

(273) "Le National", 25th Nov. 1832.

(274) Ernest Legouvé: "Dernier travail, derniers souvenirs", 1898.

(275) Zola: "Lettres de jeunesse" (1901) at date 25th July 1860.

(276) Delécluze: "Souvenirs", section on "Cromwell".

(277) "R. encyclopédique", March 1828, Chauvet's article on "Cromwell".

(278) V. Hugo: "Lettres à la fiancée", 1901, at 16th Feb. 1822.

(279) "Propos de table de Victor Hugo", ed. by R. Lesclide, 1885.

(280) "Le Corsaire", 15th Feb. 1828.

opening performance, the actor charged with pronouncing the name of the author made the statement: (281) "Messieurs, les passages que vous avez eu la bonté d'applaudir sont de Walter Scott". Paul Foucher told a friend that the audience had, by hissing him, slighted History and Scott, and that they had thus proscribed the first essay of a genre by which the old-fashioned tastes were being gradually undermined (282). "Hernani" itself bore an English imprint in several places: Hugo probably copied from Shakespeare the habit of passing over in silence a long break in the events (283); and from the "Journal des Comédiens" he attracted the observation: "Everywhere reminiscences, borrowed situations. Here the French drama, there the English; ... in the conclusion, the delirium of the two lovers, their frightful death, and Don Gomez' hatred force us to recall the scenes, turn by turn delightful and terrible, yet always probable, of "Romeo and Juliet", and the figure of the atrociously cruel Shylock..." (284). Authoritative critics of the day saw in "Hernani" the "distinctive qualities of Shakespeare, Byron, Molière, Corneille, and Hugo himself" (285). There was certainly something Byronic in Don Gomez and the titular character, and, as Pichot acutely remarked, (286) the coffin-scene closely resembled an episode in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi". The "Marion de Lorme" also contained various foreign elements, one reviewer finding that Hugo had therein tried to amalgamate the passionate drama of Racine, the tragedy-chronicle of Shakespeare, and Calderon's comedy of intrigue (287). Edouard Turquety told a friend of this "admirable" work, which he considered (288) "a Shakespearean drama written in sublime verse"; Hippolyte Fortoul (289), on the other hand, claimed that it was "made for the age" because Didier was Byronic, Saverny a Walter Scott type. In "Le Roi s'amuse", Hugo justified the King's libertinism by the beha-

(281) "R. encyclopédique", Feb. 1828, p. 577.

(282) A. Pavie: "Médaillons romantiques", Foucher's letter of 3rd March 1828 to Victor Pavie.

(283) "Le Temps", 7th March 1830.

(284) "Journal des Comédiens", 28th Feb. 1830.

(285) "Mercure de France au XIX^e siècle", a "chronique littéraire" of March 1830.

(286) "R. Britannique", July 1845, p. 181.

(287) "Revue européenne", 1831, notice on this play.

(288) F. Saulnier: "La Vie d'un poète, Edouard Turquety", 1885; T's letter of 15th July 1829.

(289) "R. encyclopédique", July 1833, article on "De l'art actuel", sec. IV.

viour of Prince Hal in Shakespeare, but Hal, said H. C. de Saint-Michel (290), remains a prince, while the other does not; Tribolet in some ways reminded people of Caliban (291). The four-fold assassination at the end of "Hamlet" may have been, indeed one critic (292) asserted that it was, the precedent for the six coffins of "Lucrèce Borgia". Of "Angelo", Louis Blanc (293) gave it as his opinion that "Victor Hugo a eu des réminiscences très claires, très précises d'Alexandre Dumas et de Shakespeare". While reviewing "Ruy-Blas", Chaudesaigues (294) affirmed his debt to the English dramatist, especially in the matter of combining tragedy and comedy; Planche (295), engaged in the same task, said that Hugo, though he forgot in none of his prefaces to number Shakespeare among his predecessors, didn't think himself obliged to imitate his illustrious ancestor's respect for the statements of history. This play interests us above all because of its relation to Bulwer Lytton's "Lady of Lyons". The case for originality has been put thus by Gustave Planche (296): "Even if M. Hugo had borrowed a certain datum from M. Bulwer Lytton, there would still remain between "The Lady of Lyons" and "Ruy Blas" a profound difference. The English work is a middle class drama that pretends to offer us neither the dawn nor the setting of a monarchy. [The characters and the rank of the persons would suffice to absolve M. Hugo from any suspicion of plagiarism, and the development of the action permits no comparison between the two plays..... All the persons in "The Lady of Lyons" are utterly different from those of "Ruy Blas". The case for the prosecution : the "Revue Britannique" in one place (297) speaks of an apparent suggestion from Bulwer Lytton, and in another (298) a chroniqueur (probably "Dick Popeson", the erudite E. D. Forgues) says that in the English play "l'on trouve l'idée première de "Ruy Blas" ; Léo Lespès (299) observes : "A woman urging a young man to seduction for a monetary

(290) "Revue de Paris", Dec. 1832, notice on this play.

(291) "Le National", 25th Nov. 1832.

(292) "Echo de la littérature", July 1844, Masson, near end of article on "Hamlet".

(293) "Revue républicaine", May 1835.

(294) "L'Artiste", Nov. 1838.

(295) "R. des D. Mondes", 1838, IV, 427.

(296) *Ibidem*, 1839, I, 78 and 80.

(297) Feb. 1839, p. 229.

(298) May 1843, p. 240.

(299) Léo Lespès: "Les Mystères du grand opéra", a set of memoirs published in 1843 ; see p. 313.

reward, the young man accepting without having, like Victor Hugo's *Ruy Blas* and Bulwer Lytton's hero, love for an excuse,... all that is hardly edifying", and in a footnote he adds : " 'The Lady of Lyons', a comedy by the celebrated English author, contains just such a situation" ; now Bulwer Lytton's play came out before Hugo's, so that it is possible (Biré (300), indeed, declares it certain) that the French dramatist copied the English piece, for if Léo Lespès knew "The Lady of Lyons", why not Hugo? "Les Burgraves" offered less arresting resemblances. A chroniqueur (301) of the "Revue Britannique" remarked : "Votre correspondant de Londres avait deviné... que la Guanhumara des "Burgraves" était l'Ulrique d'Ivanhoe" ; le retour de Barberousse en mendiant ressemble beaucoup au retour de Roderick... dans le poème de Southey ; voilà tout ce qu'il y a de britannique dans la "trilogie" du grand poète" ; Louis Veillot (302) also noticed the imitation from Scott's novel. In résumé, therefore, Hugo in his dramas owed much to English literature ; especially to Shakespeare and Scott, a little to Byron and Bulwer Lytton : some of his most telling situations derived therefrom. But, though he proclaimed his discipleship to Shakespeare, he very rarely mentioned his debts in particulars, whether to that or to any other writer.

His brother-in-law, Paul Foucher, was a dramatist of the second or third order ; like many another such, he proved very popular. In his memoirs, "Entre cour et jardin" and "Les Coullisses du passé", he referred often to Shakespeare, whom he held in high esteem, and had a knowledge of other Elizabethan playwrights. His "Bianca Contarini" profited by Byron's "Cor-sair" (303).

Frédéric Soulié, another fertile producer, was a thorough Romantic. He was by way of being a poet, and his "Feuille morte" and "Vers à la Lune", which Boulay-Paty judged "pretty", were imitated the one from Roberts, the other from Charlotte Smith (304) ; but it was as dramatist and novelist that he won to fame. His "Roméo et Juliette", played in June

(300) "Victor Hugo après 1830", 2 vols., 1891; vol. I, p. 242 et seq.

(301) "Revue britannique", March 1843, p. 235.

(302) In "L'Univers" of 9th or 16th April 1843. (This fact comes from Biré's "Victor Hugo après 1830".) By the way, the Bibliothèque Nationale has no copies of this periodical for April 1843.

(303) "Echo de la littérature", early 1840, review of "Bianca".

(304) "Journal intime du poète Boulay-Paty", at entry 14th May 1830.

and published soon after in 1828, deserves especial notice on account of its early date. A leading literary review, having spoken of Shakespeare's tragedy, delivered itself as follows (305) : "M. Frédéric Soulié has changed all that. God forbid that we should blame him for changing the original!... One must dare, so that I don't reproach him for having sought to innovate. My only complaint is that his innovations have, for the profound interest excited by the development of Romeo and Juliet's love, substituted the subaltern interest of curiosity, and that he has, in short, composed a story of action and intrigue in place of the romance of passion.... Whatever adverse criticisms we have made, M. Soulié's talent inspires us with deep esteem. His tragedy is, as it were, a precious emanation from the genius of Shakespeare. All the spectators were moved..." Jules Janin (306) wrote of it thus : "To imitate Shakespeare's tragedy, even in departing as far as possible therefrom, was a rash attempt that could be justified only by the audacity of the young poet... He nevertheless made good by dint of sheer skill. He simplified as much as possible this drama with its many conflicting passions. Of the twenty-five persons in the original, M. Soulié suppressed eighteen ; he concentrated the action on Juliet and Romeo..... To his magnificent fifth act he subordinated all the rest of the drama". The more difficult J. T. of the "Quotidienne" asserted that Soulié had "cruelly mutilated" Shakespeare and that his piece was to be reckoned not an imitation from the English dramatist but a tragedy composed for the tastes of a French audience (307) ; the second remark had been anticipated by some years, for a critic on "Le Corsaire" observed that Soulié "a profité de la tragédie irrégulièrement belle de Shakespeare pour faire une bonne tragédie classique" (308). But it was not Classical, nor was it wholly Romantic ; more the latter than the former. "Roméo et Juliette" was revived in 1844, but at least one reviewer (309) felt that it had "aged" a lot ; yet it continued to have an excellent reputation for its artistic qualities : "... Son ouvrage le plus littéraire. C'est assurément comme style ce qu'il a composé de plus élevé et de plus poétique" (310) ; "son meilleur

(305) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XXI, 503.

(306) "Journal des Débats", 18th Dec. 1837.

(307) "La Quotidienne", 18th Feb. 1839.

(308) "Le Corsaire", 12th June 1828.

(309) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 1st Sept. 1844.

(310) "Le Satan", 1st Sept. 1844.

titre littéraire comme... son œuvre de prédilection", said Hippolyte Lucas (311) in 1847. Of his "Christine à Fontainebleau", Boulay-Paty observed (312): "C'est du Walter Scott manqué sur la scène". "Clotilde" imitated Milman's "Fazio",—a fact that wasn't generally known (313) at the time (1832), but he refashioned it emotionally, intelligently, sympathetically and made it seem to pass in real life (314). In 1844, Soulié produced "Les Amants de Murcie"; Romeo and Juliet sponsored the characters of Silvio and Stella, while the first two acts (315) here and there resembled parts of the play of 1828; one periodical actually said that the later was the earlier piece over again (316); another stated that the subject reproduced up to a certain point the hatred of the Montagus and the Capulets, while the dénouement (317) touched very closely on the poison-drinking of "Romeo and Juliet". We may mention that as a novelist, Soulié was one of "the big three" in 1835-1848 in the matter of "best sellers", the other two being of course Dumas and Sue. His "Vicomte de Béziers", an historical novel, drew the stricture (318): "Peut-être quelques réminiscences de W. Scott y sont-elles un peu trop sensibles"; in the preface to "Romans historiques de Languedoc" (1836) he proclaimed Scott the great master of this genre, but he failed to become a dangerous rival (319).

Like Soulié, Dumas won a reputation in drama before he took to novel-writing. When, about 1824, he began to read good literature, he started with Scott and Cooper. "Ivanhoe", though Gurth and Wamba rather bothered him, opened his eyes to new horizons (320). Shakespeare he admired enthusiastically: a whole long chapter of the "Souvenirs dramatiques" was devoted to him; according to Paul Meurice (321), who ought to have

(311) "Le Siècle", 4th Oct. 1847.

(312) "Dix lettres de Boulay-Paty", at date 23rd Oct. 1829.

(313) "Annuaire historique universel", "chronique" of Feb. 1833.

(314) "Journal des Débats", 15th April 1839, Janin's feuilleton.

(315) "Revue indépendante", March 1844, "revue théâtrale" by Aubert.

(316) "Le Satan", 14th March 1844.

(317) "Le Constitutionnel", 11th March 1844.

(318) "Revue européenne", April 1834, notice on this novel.

(319) "Le Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", Aug. 1836, review of the book in question. — This periodical became in 1838 the "Revue critique des livres nouveaux", just as about 1830 the "Mercure du xix^e siècle", became the "Mercure de France au xix^e siècle".

(320) Dumas: "Mes Mémoires", IX, 185. To pay his debt to Scott and Shakespeare, Dumas (as we learn from his own words) used to be particularly kind to English people; see "R. hebdomadaire", Oct. 1892, p. 711.

(321) "Revue de Paris", 1st May 1906, p. 71 in "Paul Meurice. — Souvenirs intimes" by G. Simon.

known, "Shakespeare était un dieu pour Dumas". His ambitions were suggested by English literature, as we glimpse from a depreciatory remark (322) made in 1846 with regard to feuilleton-novels : "M. Dumas, qui d'avance posait sur sa tête la couronne de Shakespeare et de Scott, va rejoindre Scudery : vaillant esprit qui a mis une vraie passion à se réduire en petite monnaie...". These two writers exercised a tremendous influence on Dumas's literary career. He himself has told us (323) that, at the beginning, his works were much affected by Scott ; he extracted two dramas from "Old Mortality" and "Ivanhoe" ; neither was played, neither was playable ; but the analysis of the Waverley novels taught him a great deal that was useful. Scott was his "admiration culminante" ; "Dumas lui doit sa méthode historique, sinon scientifique ; il lui doit aussi sa proximité" (324). As early as 1833 he was often accused of plagiarising from English sources : a critic of the day used a nine-column feuilleton (325) to defend him against the charge, — prominent in the discussion being the names of Shakespeare and Scott. Now, as playwright, Dumas is most significant, because though his pieces were not nearly so well written as Hugo's, they were more essentially dramatic and they were tremendously popular from "Henri III et sa cour" in 1829 till "Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr" in 1843. Three English writers influenced him in this capacity : Shakespeare, Byron and Scott ; the first far more than the others. Arsène Houssaye (326) said that there were often in Dumas the distinguishing features of a modern Shakespeare ; the dramatist himself stated in 1836 that when he wanted to compose a piece, he studied afresh Shakespeare and Corneille (327) ; Philibert Audebrand (328), alluding to about 1834, observed that "Alexandre Dumas avait fait brillamment ses preuves au théâtre. Il prenait des allures de Shakespeare au petit pied" ; Victor Pavie (329) judged him " un plagiaire dra-

(322) "R. des D. Mondes", 15th June 1846, p. 1018.

(323) In "Souvenirs de 1830 à 1842", VI.

(324) Both those quotations come from Blaze de Bury: "Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs. Alexandre Dumas", pp. 88, 267.

(325) "La Quotidienne", 10th Dec. 1833.

(326) "Mes Confessions", I; Blaze de Bury makes much the same remark, *op. cit.*, 178.

(327) "La Nouvelle Minerve" early 1836, in his review of Mallefille's "Sept Enfants de Lara".

(328) "Petits mémoires d'une stalle d'orchestre", 1885.

(329) "Souvenirs de Jeunesse" (in vol. II of the "Oeuvres choisies de Victor Pavie").

matique, ou compilateur, non sans verve, de Schiller, de Shakespeare, de Goethe et de Calderon". In 1840 he told Buloz that he wished to remove Ducis's adaptations, now superannuated, from the repertoire and spoke (330) of translating and imitating in verse "Hamlet", "Macbeth" and "Julius Casear" to take their place ; seven years later a hard-to-please critic (331) asked when Dumas intended producing "du Shakespeare non versifié". It is true that he often borrowed from the English dramatist, but he admired him tremendously. The "locus classicus" is this (332) : "Shakespeare contains the whole of humanity. Anybody that studies Shakespeare, studies at once Corneille and Moliere, Racine and Regnard—plus Shakespeare. Shakespeare is as much a writer of comedy as Molière and Regnard : look at Falstaff and Mercutio. He is as tragic as Corneille and Racine : see "Othello" and "Richard III". Moreover, he's as much a dreamer as Goethe : see "Hamlet" ; as dramatic as Schiller,—think of "Macbeth". As poetic... as ever poet has been : remember "Romeo and Juliet". It results that, when an actor or an actress studies Shakespeare, they have studied everything : the actress has studied "naïveté" in Juliet, ambition in Lady Macbeth, grace and ethereality in Ariel.... ; the actor has studied cunning in Richard III, madness in King Lear, jealousy in Othello... Shakespeare has divined everything... In conclusion, Shakespeare, in the hands of a capable student, can at one and the same time replace Molière, Corneille, Racine, Calderon, Goethe and Schiller". When the English company arrived in 1827, Dumas was already well-equipped to understand the Shakespearean plays (313) : he knew the dramas almost by heart, and could follow the actors without a translation. "Du jour où j'avais vu dans la personne des artistes anglais, les hommes du théâtre oubliant qu'ils étaient sur un théâtre..., de ce jour-là, ma vocation avait été décidée" (334), he wrote in his memoirs, and his friend Michaux (335) phrased the matter thus : "Cette étincelle qui était cachée au fond de son être..., se transforme en

(330) M. L. Pailleron: "François Buloz et ses amis", II, 230.

(331) "Echo de la littérature", 1847.

(332) Dumas: "Souvenirs de 1830 à 1842", VIII, section on Shakespeare. — I have altered Dumas's typographical arrangement, which was designed to make his work cover as much space on a page as possible.

(333) Dumas: "Mémoires", XI, 103-104.

(334) *Ibidem*, XI, 255.

(335) In his "Souvenirs personnels sur Alexandre Dumas", 1885.

foyer ardent. Il a la joie d'Archimède ; il a trouvé!" He studied Byron as dramatic poet (336). About 1830 he read de Barante's "Ducs de Bourgogne", which finished the work begun by the Waverley novels : "Je me mis à découper, à raconter et à dialoguer des scènes historiques (337)". An examination of his plays will show much imitation and borrowing. He based *Henri III et sa cour* on the "Mémoires de l'Estoile" and that scene in Scott's "Abbé" which presents Murray trying to make Mary Stuart sign her abdication (338). In "Stockholm, Fontainebleau, Rome" (i. e. "Christine"), 1830, he introduced a scene closely imitated (339) from *Kenilworth* and a character, Paula (340), cast in the likeness of the page in Byron's "Lara". For "Charles VII" he used (341) the figure of the gipsy, which had particularly struck him in "Quentin Durward", and several passages from "The Talisman". All the prologue (342) to "Richard Darlington" was borrowed from Scott's "Chronicles of the Canongate" : this first part of the play represented an extremely close imitation, which extended even to names (343) ; the pact between Thomson and Darlington (344) recalled an incident in Lewis's "Monk". Of "Catherine Howard" (1834), Delrieu (345) observed : "Quant à l'originalité du sujet, 'Anne et Boleyn', 'Amy Robsart', 'Ivanhoe', etc., sont là pour en demander le partage à l'auteur" ; the project suggested by the death-vow (346) was taken from "Romeo and Juliet" ; in the preface, the author said that he hoped to produce not an historical drama but something on the plan of "Cymbeline". In "Don Juan de Marana" (or "La Chute d'un ange"), he was accused of borrowing from Molière, Goethe, Walter Scott, Hoffmann, Shakespeare, Lewis (347), and J. T. said in his respected feuilleton (348) : "Across the scenic fantasmagoria of this bizarre conception, one

(336) Dumas "Mémoires", IX, 187.

(337) "Souvenirs de 1830 à 1842", III.

(338) As he tells us in his "Souvenirs dramatiques".

(339) "Journal des Comédiens", 1st April 1830.

(340) "Le Globe", 1st or 4th April 1830, reviewed by C. M. (i. e. Ch. Magnin).

(341) Blaze de Bury: "Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs", p. 58. See also

Dumas : "Mémoires", XXII, 72-75.

(342) "Annuaire historique universel" for 1831, "chronique" of December. See also P. Foucher: "Les Couloisses du passé", p. 453.

(343) "J. des Débats", 2nd Nov. 1833.

(344) "La Quotidienne", 17th Dec. 1831.

(345) "Le Temps", 6th June 1834.

(346) "Gazette des Théâtres", 5th June 1834.

(347) "Annuaire historique", the "chronique" for April 1836.

(348) "La Quotidienne", 5th May 1836.

discovers some grand and beautiful tragic scenes, but unfortunately they are not the author's,—they merely prove his erudition and his dramatic instinct. Goethe and Shakespeare bear the brunt.... Lewis also has seen one or two situations taken from "The Monk". In 1839 Dumas presented "L'Alchimiste" to the Parisian public. "Thinking that MM. Milman and Soulié had not exhausted this rich mine, M. Alexandre Dumas set about exploiting it... His "Alchimiste" is only a copy of Milman's "Fazio" ; a copy warmer in tone than the original, but less true and with an effect less arresting" (349). Another critic (350) went so far as to call it "une imitation et souvent une simple traduction", but the medium view that the subject, persons and principal scenes (351) derived from "Fazio" was correct for this five-act drama in verse. In "Lorenzino" (1842), E. Briffault (352) noted a loan from "Hamlet", while Jules Janin (353) declaimed the "hero" modelled on Shakespeare's Brutus. The next year brought forth two plays indebted to English literature : "Le Laird de Dumbicky" to "Peveril of the Peak" (354) ; "Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr" to Shakespeare's "All's Well" (355). In 1846 he published "Une Fille du Régent", with love-scene in act I transferred (356) from "Romeo and Juliet" : J. T. (357) broke out thus, "It really wasn't worth the trouble of spending a lot of money on painting and moonlight to give us a pale imitation of the delightful balcony-scene". With regard to "Amour et intrigue" (1847), A. de Pontmartin (358) applied the lash : "M. Dumas, défigurant aujourd'hui Shakespeare et Schiller, ressemble à ces gens incorrigibles qui, après s'être ruinés eux-mêmes, ruinent leurs créanciers" ; and Pagès du Port, in "L'Union Monarchique" (359), wrote a vigorous yet partly merited attack. "The author has never probed very far into the resources of

(349) "Revue de Paris", second week of April 1839.

(350) J. Ferney in "Le Siècle", 20th April 1839.

(351) "Le National", 20th April 1839.

(352) "Le Temps", 28th Feb. 1842.

(353) "J. des Débats", 28th Feb. 1842.

(354) "Moniteur universel", 2nd Jan. 1844, article by T. Sauvage, a very reliable critic.

(355) "Le Siècle", 27th July 1843.

(356) "Le Correspondant", May 1846, P. Lorain's article "De la situation dramatique".

(357) "La Quotidienne", 6th April 1846.

(358) "R. des D. Mondes", 1st July 1847, p. 197 ; the article is anonymous, but I believe it to be A. de P.'s.

(359) Named simply "L'Union" after the Revolution of February ; at date of 14th June 1847.

his imagination to find the subjects of his plays. He has drawn frequently and unscrupulously on the treasure-trove of the English and German writers. More than one stirring situation, more than one skilfully conducted scene belong by rights to Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller or even Lope de Vega. M. Alexandre Dumas takes an inspiration, a phrase, a prologue, in the most cavalier fashion, as a man convinced that the wit and work of others constitute a mine of which he has permission to make the best he can". The borrowing was as flagrant as the critic said ; he forgot, however, to mention that not only did Dumas quite often acknowledge his debts but he endowed the property of others with a verve and vivid life all his own. Before passing on to "Hamlet", played in full-dress-rehearsal in 1846, presented to the public a year later, and published in 1848, we may mention that the populace-scenes in his Roman play (360) may have been suggested by "Coriolanus". But "Hamlet", produced with the collaboration of Paul Meurice, raised as much discussion about treatment of foreign derivations as "Antony" did for its emotional daring. Paul Meurice relates (361) that when he was presented to Dumas, the dramatist remarked that unfortunately no first-class translation of "Hamlet" existed and welcomed him with open arms on hearing of his version ; Dumas recast the young man's rendering. It is to the credit of the pair that J. T. (362), after mentioning Voltaire and Ducis's imitation and adaptation, said. "MM. Dumas and Meurice alone have had the courage to show us this admirable creation in its first shape..... Inspired by the poetic genius of Shakespeare, they have often risen to the height of the original..... The translators have permitted themselves a few cuts that accelerate the action..... Their "Hamlet" has obtained a fine literary success" : Adolphe Dumas (363), himself a dramatist of some note, congratulated his name-sake by saying that "Hamlet" was now a masterpiece in the two languages. Théophile Gautier (364) instituted the following criticism : "La traduction... est faite

(360) Blaze de Bury: "Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs", p. 160.

(361) "Revue de Paris", 1st May 1906, "Paul Meurice. — Souvenirs intimes", by G. Simon.

(362) "L'Union Monarchique", 20th Dec. 1847. — When the "Quotidienne" ceased its independent existence and fused with two other papers to become "L'Union M.", J. T. went on to the staff of the new paper.

(363) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 24th Sept. 1846.

(364) "La Presse", 20th Dec. 1847.

avec ce soin pieux, ce scrupule intelligent et cette obstination passionnée de poètes qui copient un maître adoré : Paul Meurice... s'est sans doute occupé plus spécialement de la fidélité de la traduction, de la pensée intime et du style ; Dumas... a dû surveiller le mouvement des scènes, la marche de l'action... ; il s'est conformé pour la plupart des changements à ceux indiqués par Goethe..... Le dénouement a été modifié..... Cette fin, empruntée au "Richard III", est d'un grand effet scénique... Mais au point de vue purement philosophique et poétique, nous préférierions le dénouement de Shakespeare tel qu'il est". But the play met with some keen and able opponents : P. Lorain (365) thought the translation, as translation, rather poor, and the additions and retrenchments almost devoid of sense and value ; R. in "Le Constitutionnel" got down to particulars and took exception to the alterations made in the form of the tragedy (366) ; it was, however, reserved for Armand de Pontmartin (367) to deliver the keenest, most powerful and most eloquent attack on the summary treatment of the form of Shakespeare's "Hamlet". Knowing that Dumas alone made these changes, he wrote : "Let M. Dumas treat his own inventions with this high-handed violence ; he has a right to do so..., but it seems to me that Shakespeare and Schiller deserve a little more respect. The more useful it is to initiate the public by conscientious translations into those original beauties which are not yet familiar to it, the more unfitting and dangerous it is to give as Shakespeare what constitutes merely a pale and treacherous copy". He justly censured the omission of the ghost in the exposition, objected strongly to any change at all in the dénouement, poured scorn on the loan from "Richard III", and added that "the essence of the drama has disappeared, the style has lost its originality and colour,... while the exquisite rôle of Ophelia... is scarcely recognisable". It must be stated, however, that the part of Hamlet was written up for Rouvière (368), a Shakespeare enthusiast and an actor of the first rank. In general, then, Dumas in his plays owed many particular incidents, much

(365) "Le Correspondant", Feb. 1848, review of the play.

(366) "Le Constitutionnel", 20th Dec. 1847.

(367) "R. des D. Mondes", 1st Jan. 1848.

(368) Les frères Lionnet: "Souvenirs et anecdotes", early in the book.

general inspiration to English literature (369), and his work shows the most striking and thorough-going orientation by Shakespeare to be found in the whole range of Romantic drama. That so famous, so extremely popular a playwright should, as was commonly known, freely copy Shakespeare, meant that Dumas exercised a potent English influence on the drama of the time.

De Vigny was also a notable disciple of Shakespeare, whose cause he most signally helped with "*Le More de Venise*". When in 1828 he returned to civil life, he directed his attention to the reform of the theatre, and, before approaching the stage in his own person, he thought that he should "naturalise" several pieces from the English; he translated "*Othello*" and, during its season, "*The Merchant of Venice*", which was, by the veto of Montbel (370) prevented from appearing scenically. As early as 1828, Sainte-Beuve wrote to him (371): "*Juliette et Othello, Roméo et Desdémone sont à jamais liés à votre nom, vous êtes Shakespearien de ce côté comme vous êtes espagnol par Dolorida*". The "*Romeo and Juliet*" was translated by de Vigny (whose share consisted of the last two acts) and Emile Deschamps; read before the committee of the Théâtre-Français in 1828 (372), it won golden opinions, but the lack of a suitable Juliet (373) postponed rehearsals and so the piece was never performed. The "*More de Venise*", first played in October 1829, stands out as extremely important in the history of French Romanticism and as a milestone large-looming in any account of English influence on that movement; far more faithful than Soulié's "*Roméo et Juliette*" to the original, — a straight-out importation from England, — presenting in concentrated form what Dumas's "*Henri III*" and Hugo's "*Hernani*" offered only in parts, de Vigny's close adaptation of "*Othello*" is that single work which more than any other reflected and propagated the impulse of English on French litera-

(369) In the "*Revue hebdomadaire*", of July 1902, at pp. 148, 337, Ch. Glinel, in his "Notes" on the dramatist, informs us that there are two unedited plays drawn from English literature: "*L'Ecosais*", a "drame", from "*Quentin Durward*", and "*Roméo et Juliette*", a tragedy written in collaboration with P. Meurice.

(370) "*R. des D. Mondes*", July (or August) 1832, article on de Vigny.

(371) "*Revue de Paris*", 15th Aug. 1st Sept. 1906, "*Lettres de Sainte-Beuve à Alfred de Vigny*", ed. by L. Gillet; letter of 14th August 1828.

(372) 1827 according to E. Deschamps.

(373) For these facts see the "*Annales Romantiques*" of Nov.-Dec. 1905, "*Alfred de Vigny au Maine Giraud*", letter of 5th Jan. 1849.

ture. The opening night was thus reviewed by a temperate daily (374) : "The Shakespearean tragedy is full of interest and will become still more interesting with several suppressions. It is a production that deserves to attract the public, and it will, for that body does not withstand its own pleasure. The staging, besides, is excellent, the decorations magnificent, the acting uniformly good and well-concerted". De Vigny had already removed numerous passages that would have offended French taste, but he added nothing. Between the first and the second performance, he made several cuts, and the piece obtained an uncontested success on the latter night (375). An anonymous critic wrote in the "Revue de Paris" a keenly adverse notice that must be quoted, not only for the attack on de Vigny but also for a certain amount of truth and the implicatively favourable attitude to Shakespeare (376) : "Faithful and at the same time faithless to his model, sometimes exaggerating the familiarity of the dialogue, sometimes suppressing those lively, witty traits which make up for the lack of action ; turn by turn more brilliant and more trivial than Shakespeare ; going one better in the colouring of his pictures and in the "naïveté" of his enthusiasms, M. Alfred de Vigny (and my severity will not astonish this talented writer) has not translated Shakespeare. Often he has respected the form and let slip the profundity of the meaning : often he thought that he was embellishing the original, and the adornment has disfigured that old figure in loading it with modern spangles... At several arresting and vivid parts, we could say : 'There you have Shakespeare!...' But in the much-abbreviated simple or comic scenes, in the lively and urgent dialogues, in all the rest, it was no longer Shakespeare". When the translation was published in 1830, the students of Paris, greatly impressed, sent to Mlle Mars a petition that she should honour them with a private performance : she did ; they applauded heartily, enthusiastically (377). To her as to the actors, de Vigny indicated (378) the English traditions as to the staging of "Othello" ; from Young, the famous English tragedian of the eighteen-twenties, he obtained valuable information on the rende-

(374) "Le Temps", 26th Oct. 1829 ; 1st performance on the 25th Oct.

(375) Contents of the last two sentences come from "Le Temps", 30th Oct. 1829.

(376) "R. de Paris", Nov. 1829.

(377) "La Quotidienne", 1st Feb. 1830.

(378) De Vigny: "Correspondance", letter of 3rd May 1862.

ring of Iago (379). Such care was needed in a very significant enterprise : "De quoi s'agissait-il, en somme?" enquired Amédée Achard (380) ; "de planter le drapeau de Shakespeare au Théâtre-Français, ce glorieux drapeau si étrangement mutilé par Ducis ; il s'agissait de faire comprendre aux Parisiens qu'Othello n'était pas un Orosmane. Ce fut un essai : une tempête le suivit, mais la semence était tombée et la moisson fleurit pour le théâtre". Chaudesaigues (381) drew attention to another aspect when he observed that de Vigny cleverly managed to have sanctioned by the person of Shakespeare the dramatic revolution that he planned : once protected by such an ægis, the cause was destined to succeed ; the poet resigned himself for the moment to the laborious rôle of translator, and, by his splendid "More de Venise", he prepared the movement that he later set up in the theatre by his "Maréchale d'Ancre". No doubt existed as to the intransigent aim of this drama, and, about a month before the opening night, appeared the hint (382) : "Le romantisme va ainsi comparaître en personne, et le procès entre l'antique et le vieux ne tardera pas à être jugé". Edouard Turquety (383) hoped that "Le More de Venise" would recall the theatre to "cette nature si prodigieusement défigurée par les tragiques modernes" ; in November 1829 Sainte-Beuve declared his belief that de Vigny had, aided by Shakespeare, opened a large breach in the Classic ramparts and that de Vigny and Victor Hugo would each plant a standard there (384). Finally, "Othello" was rendered "en vers brisés comme nous en voulons maintenant au théâtre", as Boulay-Paty (385) said at the time. In his "Marchand de Venise", which should have been played in 1830, de Vigny changed several parts, withdrew the scene of the three caskets, regularised the march of the play and justified the rage of Shylock (386) ; H. Lucas found the style perfectly charming (387) ; P. Foucher called the French version an "imitation tronquée", which repre-

(379) "R. des Deux Mondes", 15th Dec. 1920: "Journal d'un poète. — Fragments inédits", ed. by F. Gregh; entry of Sept. 1829.

(380) "L'Epoque", 7th Jan. 1846.

(381) R. des D. Mondes", March 1837, essay on de V.

(382) "Journal du Commerce", 21st Sept. 1829.

(383) See H. Girard's "Emile Deschamps", p. 161.

(384) "Revue de Paris", 15th Aug., 1st Sept. 1906, "Lettres de Sainte Beuve", at 10th Nov. 1829.

(385) "Dix lettres de Boulay-Paty", at 23rd Oct. 1829.

(386) "Le Constitutionnel", 5th April, 1830.

(387) "Le Siècle", 10th Jan. 1848.

sented the interesting compromise resulting from an attractive dreamer's treatment of the world's most comprehensive and inexhaustible dramatic genius (388). Into "La Maréchale d'Ancre", de Vigny worked "de larges développements shakespeariens, souvent même plus larges que ne le demanderait un parterre français" (389) : in the words of the capable J. T. (390), "après avoir traduit... l' "Othello"... M. de Vigny voulut faire un drame historique dans le goût de son modèle". Evidently, then, Shakespeare was the only English writer that notably affected his dramatic work, but he affected it very notably indeed. De Vigny wrote no long and almost hyper-eulogistic passages such as Dumas penned in honour of the dramatist, but he intimated his admiration, quieter and more philosophical, in practical ways.

Alfred de Musset showed less directly the Shakespearean influence that left so deep a mark on his dramatic work. In 1849 the princesse de Belgiojoso wrote to him (391) : "You think and feel like Shakespeare and you speak like Marivaux ; it's a strange combination, and the effect is most striking" ; that little piece of criticism is worth all her books. A contemporary reviewer of the second livraison of the "Spectacle dans un fauteuil" felt that these delightful comedies largely derived from memories of Shakespeare and Molière (392), but de Musset had much more in common with Marivaux (as dramatist) than with Molière. The vicomtesse de Janzé remarked that some of his pieces had that liberty of form which characterises Shakespeare's dramas (393). Arsène Houssaye thought that if he had not, at the outset, been carried away by Romanticism in general and Byronism in particular, Alfred de Musset might perhaps have become a modern Molière ; the princesse de Belgiojoso, let us insist, went nearer the mark. At least one critic exaggerated his dramatic debt to English literature ; "M. Chaudesaigues shows him... struck with an incurable malady, the passion for imitation. To believe him, the persons, situations and often the very dialogue of these exqui-

(388) P. Foucher: "Entre cour et jardin".

(389) "R. des D. Mondes", July 1831, notice on this play.

(390) "La Quotidienne", 22nd June 1840.

(391) L. Séché: "Alfred de Musset" (2 voll. 1907), II, 102: letter of 23rd Feb. 1849, just after the first night of "Louison". See ante, section on M. in ch. III.

(392) "R. de Paris", Jan. 1836, third "chronique". He may have been influenced by Beaumont, of whose plays he possessed a copy (a detail that I owe to M. Fernand Baldensperger.).

(393) Vicomtesse de Janzé: "Etude et récits sur Alfred de Musset", 1891.

site "Proverbes" would belong not to M. de Musset, but really to Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe" (394). J. T. considered "Lorenzaccio" a very piquant drama constructed after the fashion of Shakespeare (395) and "Andrea del Sarto" distinguished by a Shakespearean accumulation of horrors (396). Another critic (397) said of "Il ne faut jurer de rien" : "Le troisième acte, la nuit, sous un grand chêne, est trempé d'une poésie shakespearienne". Alfred de Musset drew little from the tragedy, much from the comedy of the English dramatist, and he translated it consistently into atmosphere and manner, often into characterisation.

As strenuous as de Musset was lazy, Félix Pyat (398) wrote some plays of merit. "Ango" (1835) contained a graphic scene (399) : "It is midnight. The turret is gloomy, a large bed is scarcely perceived in a corner of the apartment ; outside the sea moans, the storm bursts, lightning gleams through the clouds. 'Tis the night of Othello and Desdemona, that sublime, funereal night so often borrowed and stolen from Shakespeare !" In "Diogène" (1845), Pyat may have been influenced by "Timon of Athens" ; Hippolyte Lucas (400) noted the precedence of Shakespeare in the dramatisation of misanthropy. A literary critic of ability (401), Pyat spoke favourably (402) of English literature; up till about 1840, for afterwards he became somewhat of an Anglophobe, though milder on his return from exile in London. More facile, more polished, less conventional in morals, Léon Gozlan (403) produced several striking dramas and novels. His feuilletons in "Le Temps" (404) demonstrate a passable knowledge and noteworthy admiration of Milton, Pope, Ossian, Burns, Scott, to mention a few. In "Le Livre noir" (1848), a rather sombre drama, J. T. (405) picked out for special notice an "observation

(394) "Revue de Paris", June 1841, anon. criticism of "Caprice" and "Marianne".

(395) "La Quotidienne", 28th Feb. 1842.

(396) "L'Union", 27th Nov. 1848.

(397) "L'Artiste", 1st Aug. 1848, section "théâtres".

(398) Mr. S. H. Hopper has this year produced a very interesting thesis on Pyat (1810-1889), who is remembered mostly as a politician and as the redoubtable opponent of Jules Janin.

(399) "J. des Débats", 6th July 1835.

(400) "Le Siècle", 19th Jan. 1846.

(401) His essay "Romantisme et Naturalisme", in the "R. de Paris et de St. Pétersbourg", Nov. 1887, is very interesting.

(402) See e. g. his article on Bulwer Lytton in "Le Temps", 12th Feb. 1835.

(403) Born in 1806, died in 1866.

(404) E. g. the nos. of 12th Dec. 1834, 4th Jan. 1835.

(405) "L'Union", 23rd Oct. 1848. We may mention that his novel, "Une nuit blanche", 1840, was indebted to English literature.

fine et ingénieuse qui caractérise le talent de l'auteur, et qui nous rappelle souvent l' "humour" de Sterne et de Swift".

Another worldly and witty person, Delphine Gray, afterwards Mme Emile Girardin, wrote several plays, one of which indicated careful reading of Shakespeare and imitation of "Antony and Cleopatra". It was not from there that she got "the fatal idea of making Cleopatra a Messalina" (406). One critic (407) found in her "Cléopâtre" a passage paraphrased from "Antony and Cleopatra"; Janin (408) asserted that the fair lady had drawn a good deal from that source, but J. T. (409) said that whatever resemblances (accidental in his opinion) "Cléopâtre" bore to the Shakespearean tragedy, it offered still more analogies with "All for Love", which, after all, was Shakespeare Drydenised.

Certain dramatists were intimately connected with the 'forties. Of these the most notable was Ponsard, whose knowledge of English literature seems to have been pretty fair. In the "Revue de Vienne" of 1840 he published an article (410), "De Mlle Rachel, de Corneille, de Racine, de Shakespeare". Three years previously, he had issued a verse translation of Byron's "Manfred", of which Emile Souvestre (411) remarked: "In undertaking such a task, M. Ponsard showed little prudence; let us add that he wasn't happy in his choice. "Manfred" is perhaps the most bizarre and consequently the least apt for translation of English poems; even prose versions can hardly convey the sense. And so M. Ponsard's translation betrays uneasiness and uncertainty at every point" (412). Actually before this review appeared, the poet withdrew the book from circulation (413). His "Lucrèce" has remained his most esteemed work, and in its day, of course, it engendered the School of Common Sense; yet its Greek and Latin tendencies did not prevent it from owing something to Shakespeare. Ponsard thought that it would be fine (414) for a dramatist to "correct Shake-

(406) "Mercure de France", 1st Oct. 1909, "Sainte Beuve mondain", Mme d'Arbouville's letter of 18th Sept. 1846.

(407) "L'Illustration", 20th Nov. 1847.

(408) "J. des Débats", 15th Nov. 1847.

(409) "L'Union Monarchique", 16th. Nov. 1847.

(410) This fact has been mentioned by C. Latreille in "La Fin du théâtre romantique et François Ponsard", 1899.

(411) Whose ability as critic has been passed over much too summarily.

(412) "Le Temps" 2nd July 1837.

(413) L. Séché: "Alfred de Vigny" (2nd ed.), I, 277, Ponsard's letter of 17th May to Péhant.

(414) A. Challamel: "Souvenirs d'un hugolâtre", 1885.

speare by Racine and complete Racine by Shakespeare". Janin's view (415) that the element due to the English dramatist was very slight and easy of effacement does not tally with the general opinion of Ponsard's contemporaries ; Patin (416) wrote : "If I observe, after so many others, that certain passages in "Lucrèce" recall the daring familiarity of Shakespeare, the energy and frankness of Corneille, the elegantly erudite curiosity of André Chénier,... I don't by any means make it a reproach to the author". The same critic noted that Shakespeare's familiarity was to be seen especially in the first act and that the sibyl was probably suggested by the witches in "Macbeth" ; Gautier (417) said that Ponsard profited by previous "Roman" plays, among which he numbered "Coriolanus" and "Julius Caesar" ; an anonymous writer on "L'artiste" (it was quite likely Gérard de Nerval) stated that the dramatist had victoriously proved that one could combine the inspirations of Shakespearean drama with the elegance, purity and order of the French Classical plays (418). Cuvillier-Fleury found the imitation of Shakespeare disputing it with that of Corneille (419) and in his diary (420) jotted down the words : "Un talent de style très net entre les deux écoles, plutôt romantique cependant ; imitation de Shakespeare pour le détail des mœurs" ; de Vigny (421) also referred to the influence of the English dramatist on "Lucrèce". "Agnès de Méranie" (1847) offered a scene (the proclamation of the interdiction) that recalled (422) "The Mysteries of Udolpho", "Charlotte Corday" was described (423) as "an historical tragedy conceived on the plan of Shakespeare's 'histories'", and as late as 1860 Ponsard was engaged on a play imitated from Shakespeare (424). Midway between the two schools, he imitated situation rarely and method often, — a fact indicative of the deep impression made by the general manner, the atmosphere of Shakespeare. Another member of the Common-sense School, Latour de Saint-Ybars,

(415) "J. des Débats", 24th April 1843.

(416) "Journal des Savants", Dec. 1843, article on "Lucrèce".

(417) "La Presse", 2nd May 1843.

(418) "L'Artiste", Oct. 1843, p. 258.

(419) "Correspondance du duc d'Aumale et de Cuvillier-Fleury", ed. by R. Vallery-Radot, 3 vols. 1910-1912 ; letter of 22nd-26th April 1843.

(420) "Journal et correspondance de Cuvillier-Fleury", vol. I, at date 22nd-26th April 1843.

(421) "Journal d'un poète", Coll. Nelson Fr. edition, p. 341.

(422) According to L. Arbaud in "Le Correspondant", Jan. 1847.

(423) "L'Illustration", 24th June 1848.

(424) "Journal des Goncourt", entry of 24th Aug. 1860.

came under the same influence : "Latour de Saint-Ybars est un Romain qui se perdit dans le drame shakespearien", observed Arsène Houssaye (425) ; but in "Le Syrien" he borrowed also from another source, probably used this once : "Sans malveillance aucune, nous nous demandons si M. Latour, de Saint-Ybars, n'a pas puisé sa donnée dramatique dans... "les Derniers jours de Pompéi", de Bulwer" (426).

Ernest Legouvé had much in common with these writers. As youthful poet and young dramatist (for the latter rôle, "Louise de Lignerolles", 1838, "Guerrero" in 1845), he showed many qualities that were Romantic. While he was at college, he translated (427) "Lara", "The Corsair" and the fourth canto of "Childe Harold" ; when seventeen or so, he rendered "Romeo and Juliet" into French with the utmost enthusiasm (428), and as a young man he "adored" Shakespeare (429), whom he continued to admire ("j'ai vu, pour ma part, soixante fois 'Othello'") (430) though not to the exclusion of a cult for Racine (431). As a critic, he often alluded to English literature, especially to Byron (432) and Scott (433).

Then come the pleasant pair, Paul Meurice and Auguste Vacquerie, who were some thirteen years the juniors of Legouvé. Both worshipped Shakespeare : the former, in the articles signed "Demain" for "l'Epoque" (434), manifested deep admiration as well as minute familiarity with regard to the dramas ; the latter wrote (435), just before the performance of "Macbeth" at the Odéon in 1848, that he would certainly be there "with a pure enthusiasm" and would acclaim the return of his "other Emperor". In 1842 they produced "Falstaff", which, while, being generally praised, attracted the recommendation expressed by one periodical in the words (436), "volez de vos propres ailes".

(425) "Mes Confessions", III.

(426) "L'Esprit français", 25th April 1847, reviewed by C. B.

(427) See his "Soixante ans de souvenirs", I, 246.

(428) *Ibidem*, I, 52 and II, 135.

(429) *Ibidem*, II, circa 136 (section on Berlioz).

(430) *Ibid.*, II, 130.

(431) *Ibid.*, I, 277.

(432) "La France littéraire", April 1832, article on Alfieri ; July 1832, on Byron ; Aug. 1833, on Ragon's translation of "C. Harold" ; March 1835, in "De l'individualité en littérature".

(433) *Ibid.*, March 1835, same article.

(434) See e. g. 23rd May 1846.

(435) "L'Evénement", 23rd Oct. 1848.

(436) "Les Coulisses", 2nd Oct. 1842.

Hippolyte Lucas (437), after a summary of the plot, continued thus : "Such are the scenes that these talented young men have detached from Shakespeare's plays in order to offer them, as a type of English gaiety, to the appreciation of Frenchmen... The authors, following Shakespeare, have dared everything, as if they had to deal with real Englishmen ; they have recoiled before no far-fetched expression... But through this strange language, the Shakespearean idea appears, and the astonished spectator feels under this form a really comic basis..... This imitation, meritoriously written, must needs whet the curiosity of the public". Théophile Gautier's résumé was this (438) : "Traduit avec intelligence, joué fort agréablement, écouté par le public avec respect et plaisir". The play naturally met with opposition, and Eugène Briffault (439) cried : "...Cette plante si profondément indigène, ils l'ont déracinée. Et ils nous l'ont montrée, triste, flétrie et étiolée. Pauvre et digne sir John !". Early in 1844 the piece was revived and very well received (440). In 1843 Meurice and Vacquerie brought out "Le Capitaine Paroles", taken from "All's well that ends well" : "They have bestowed on this translation the eminent qualities of their versification, lively, witty, daring and a trifle impudent ; their style advantageously sustains comparison with that of Shakespeare and that of our best writers of comedy" (441). Given as a "bouffonerie en un acte", it drew from H. Lucas (442) the observation that the authors might have more fully worked up to this "scene" and enlarged the scale ; the critic, having praised the fidelity of the adaptation, went on to say that, played intelligently, the piece, which at first surprised the public by its strangeness, gained a success that reminded one of the title of the original. Gautier (443) proved favourable : "Ceci n'est pas une tragédie, ni une comédie, ni même un acte ; c'est une physionomie, un portrait en quelques scènes, une figure découpée dans Shakespeare, avec les deux ou trois silhouettes qui lui donnent la réplique..... Cet extrait... est traduit avec beaucoup de verve et d'esprit ; le parterre de

(437) "Le Siècle", 3rd Oct. 1842.

(438) "La Presse", 5th Oct. 1842.

(439) Under the initial "W" in "Le Constitutionnel", 3rd Oct. 1842.

(440) "La Presse", 26th Feb. 1844.

(441) "Le Satan", circa 1st March 1843. The play was published in the following year.

(442) "Le Siècle", 8th March 1843.

(443) "La Presse", 1st March 1843.

l'Odéon l'a reçu fort gracieusement". Like "Falstaff", "Le Capitaine Paroles" was adversely criticised. Eugène Briffault (444) said that this venture procured profit and renown to nobody and really damaged Shakespeare, and "Le National" treated the enterprise with suspicion. Meurice took another collaborator for "Hamlet", and Dumas attended to the arrangement of the scenes. When the younger man recast the adaptation in its definitive book-form, he let stand only one of Dumas's verses (445). George Sand thought very highly of Meurice's original version (446) and Victor Hugo (447) wrote to the translator : "Quels admirables vers vous avez arrachés tout vivants des flancs de ce vieux Shakespeare !"

When in 1864 he sent Hugo his volume of the three Shakespearean translations, the great poet exclaimed (448) : "Shakespeare à travers vous ne perd rien. Votre vers achève sa pensée et l'emplit d'éclairs. Shakespeare dans votre style, c'est comme le rayon de lumière dans le diamant. J'ajoute que Shakespeare dans vous conserve toute sa largeur". Quite independently, Vacquerie produced in 1848 his "Tragaldabas", and "Le National" asked of this "parade shakespearienne" : "Are we in 1829?" (449) Gautier said (450) of it : "La pièce... est volontairement bouffonne ; elle procède de Shakespeare et de Scarron ; le capitaine Parolles y donne la main à don Japhet d'Arménie", and Ch. de Matharel (451) wrote : "M. Vacquerie is a poet that shelters under the Romantic standard... Tragaldabas... is a type that reminds us of Falstaff, Robert Macaire, Don César de Bazan ". Somewhat like Vacquerie in his early writings, Augier concerns us only for "La Cigüe", played in 1844 : Jules Janin (452) held it as certain that this piece was drawn from "Timon of Athens" ; Gautier (453) considered the ground-work similar in the two

(444) "Le Constitutionnel", 28th Feb. 1843. As this adaptation has already been dealt with in the section on Dumas, I add here only a few details.

(445) "Revue de Paris", 1st May 1906, p. 72.

(446) "Nouvelle Revue internationale", Sept.-Dec. 1897, A. Lacroix's "Souvenirs d'un éditeur", Sand's letter of 30th Jan. 1857.

(447) "Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul Meurice", 1909, V. H.'s letter of 30th Dec. 1847.

(448) *Ibidem.* V. H.'s letter of 1864.

(449) "Le National", 30th July 1848.

(450) "La Presse", 14th Aug. 1848.

(451) "Le Siècle", 24th July 1848.

(452) "J. des Débats", 20th May 1844.

(453) "La Presse", 20th May 1844.

dramas ; another critic stated (454) that Augier's third act was transposed from the concluding scenes of " The School for Scandal".

Borrowing from English literature, then, obtained far more in the drama than in the poetry of the French Romantic period ; more too than in the novel. Imitation of plot and incident was frequent ; imitation of atmosphere was sometimes attempted, but seldom did it prove successful. General inspiration from Shakespeare, who affected the dramatists in a revolutionary manner, brought forth many good works, especially in Hugo, Dumas, de Vigny and de Musset. English drama and English acting vitally influenced the Romantic playwrights from 1827 onwards in the better as in the inferior productions, while the English novel afforded plots, characters, and minor details to a few of the first-class and to many of the second-rate and the small-fry dramatists.

(454) In "La Critique", 7th Dec. 1845.

CHAPTER V

THE NOVEL.

The French Romantic novel was a little more independent of foreign suggestion than the Romantic drama. English literature in mass affected both genres about equally, but no writer so powerfully reacted on the novel as Shakespeare on the drama; Scott may possibly have been more often imitated, but he did not so vitally influence the best French novelists as Shakespeare did the leading playwrights; the number of good novels imitative of Scott that have survived the test of time compares very unfavourably with that of good dramas fashioned after the manner of Shakespeare. Yet English novelists were read more than English dramatists. The reason that few notable novels followed in the wake of English literature lies in the simple fact that it is easier to be natural in composing a novel than in bodying forth a drama, and, when constrained, one tends to have recourse to foreign authors, especially when they are considered fertile and wonderful. Moreover, Scott and Byron did not impose magnificently and imperiously on French literature as did Shakespeare, while both the poet and the dramatist seemed (as indeed they were) more essentially Romantic than the Waverley novelist.

It is astonishing how struck was the contemporary press with the significance of Scott's influence; how frightened it was that the best novelists did not figure prominently in the movement. In 1823 we read: "The common mass of novelists to-day exploit history, or imagine they exploit it, in the manner of Scott..... They procure a voyage or a book of statistics to learn topography; they take a geological treatise to find various technical terms with which they make their descriptive phrases bristle; they look into a dictionary of history for the period they handle and think they've done all there is to do. What will happen? Just as in the seventeenth century we had a number of so-called historical novels disfiguring history, so we'll see a host of novels supposed

to be like Scott's,—novels that will give a very false idea of former customs" (1). And several days later, the same periodical remarked: "This author's influence on novels is tremendous. Imitations of the genre that he has created will sooner or later dispute it in France with the novels of Lesage, the abbé Prévost and other writers that we admired exclusively up till now" (2). Even in 1830 we notice that by many people the Waverley novels were regarded as a precious mine newly discovered—a mine to be worked without delay (3). Early in the 'twenties, critics spoke of rules for the novel (4), which had been remoulded by Scott; in 1827 an anonymous writer smilingly observed (5): "Sir Walter Scott..... a fait une révolution dans la poétique du roman. Ce diable à quatre... est venu troubler les loisirs paresseux des romanciers modernes; il a rendu les lecteurs difficiles..... On invente avec de l'érudition; on imagine avec des complications, des extraits guillemetés; on inventorie les collections de gothiques armures". As early as 1824, Stendhal (6) stated that all the writers that aspired to celebrity in France were hastening to publish their imitation of Scott: de Salvandy had given his "Alonzo", Félix Bodin "Le Père et la Fille", Trognon "Chidilbert III", Kératry "Les Derniers des Beaumanoir", while the comte de... was about to issue "Le Duc de Guise". The complaints as to the crowd of bad historical novels inspired by Scott were numerous. In 1826 one reviewer broke out: (7) "The influence of Walter Scott has flooded us with a host of poor novels, such as "Wat Tyler", "Urbain Grandier", "Cinq-Mars", which, showing only the defects of the master, hold no rank in our literature". But one kept hoping for better things; "le siècle demande... des romans historiques, non point à la Genlis, mais à la Walter Scott" (1828) (8); Stendhal (9) said in 1832 that the Waverley novelist had had perhaps two hundred imitators in France; all their works were read, some reaching several editions; in the following year, Alfred Desessarts (10) wrote that since Scott had opened the lists for the

(1) "Le Miroir", 15th April 1823, article by Mathanasius.

(2) *Ibidem*, 17th April 1823.

(3) "Le Globe", 6th Jan. 1830.

(4) "Le Constitutionnel", 26th Oct. 1824.

(5) "La Pandore", 27th July 1827.

(6) "Correspondance", at 24th Dec. 1824.

(7) "Le Constitutionnel", 28th Nov. 1826.

(8) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", XX, 77.

(9) "Correspondance", at 18th Oct. 1832.

(10) "La France littéraire", Sept. 1833, review of "Hector Fieramosca".

historical novel, that is since innumerable chroniclers had set about exhausting his inventions and "living on the flesh of his flesh", the public had honoured few authors in this brilliant class of literature. In 1834 a prominent literary review (11) declared that in novel-writing the imitations of Scott were on the wane : that people were beginning to weary of this plastic manner and of so many great men belittled to suit the novelists. What brought disaster (12) to the uninspired copiers was that generally they had seen nothing of what they described; they had, through those countries which they pretended to reproduce in detail, travelled only by coach or, worse still, by reading at their fire. Nevertheless, in 1835 a critic that had an exceptionnally good opportunity for knowing the state of the market (13), declared that the imitators of Scott's kind of novel were increasing in numbers, and that, though few stood out from the ruck, the historical novel offered more chances of proving interesting than were offered by other varieties. Three years later, "Le Temps" deplored the situation of the French historical novel: "Consider what an unfortunate influence has been exercised on all these clumsy workers by Walter Scott, that illustrious writer whose name is most popular in France, but whose genius is not thus generally understood, so greatly have counterfeiters debased his coinage in vulgarising it. For more than ten years Abbotsford has been the seat of all these barren minds greedy to enrich themselves; some have entered there by skill, others by violence..... All these borrowed novelties in the historical tale at first took by surprise rather than captivated the public; the monotony of the "arrangers" has soon ended in making these novelties less tolerable; the disgust of the public has come and closed the list of these dramatically-framed futilities" (14). In 1844, one Grimblot delivered judgment (15). "Whatever admiration I might profess", he said, "for the splendid genius of Walter Scott, I couldn't think much of that parody of history which is called the historical novel. At a time not far distant from us,... the leading writers lacked words favourable enough for this hybrid genre, they made no bones about preferring it to history itself.

(11) "La France littéraire", Jan. 1834, Bouzenot's "Budget littéraire de 1833".

(12) *Ibid.*, Aug. 1835, article by L. G.

(13) "Le Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", Feb. 1835, re "Jean le parricide".

(14) "Le Temps", 26th June 1838.

(15) "La Revue indépendante", Sept. 1844, article on Theodore Hook.

Thank God ! that time is past and forgotten". The principal element in the imitation of Scott was that of the Middle Ages, which had been popularised by "Ivanhoe" and "Quentin Durward". "Le Globe" stated in 1830: "Aujourd'hui le moyen âge est à la mode; notre siècle littéraire averti par Walter Scott,... se rejetant sans détour dans le passé parce qu'il ne voyait devant lui que nuages, s'est livré avec ardeur à l'exploitation de cette mine riche et féconde" (16); and in another article (17): "Sur les pas de Walter Scott se sont élancés une foule de jeunes et aventureux écrivains, avides d'exploiter à leur tour une histoire jusque-là peu connue; et se mettant en quête de chroniques et de légendes... ils se sont jetés corps et âme dans le moyen âge proprement dit. Et puis ils ont relevé morceau par morceau cette grande époque; ils ont fait passer dans le drame et le roman, des expressions poétiques les plus élevées..., les dialogues et la vie de ces hommes d'un autre âge, outrant même leurs descriptions, et forçant souvent à dessein les caractères d'étrangeté et de générosité barbare qui distinguent le moyen âge". Of course there was a tendency to transfer the method to more recent times, as a solid daily (18) amusingly noted (in 1834): "See what point Scott's imitators have reached. At first they wanted the Middle Ages; that period was handed over to them, and Heaven knows what they've done with it. When none of it remained, they didn't go further back into our history, but found it more convenient to come to later reigns: the Monarchy, the Republic, the Consulate, the Empire, the Restoration, everything has served as a litter for the historical novel, which has stretched all over the place". In 1835 Charles Magnin thanked his gods that the taste for research and antiquity was drawing to a close, and that, despite the efforts to maintain it, the corpse of the Middle Ages, galvanised into life for a while, had soon fallen back into its centuried tomb (19); and the next year brought a delightful "obituary notice" in the "Gazette des théâtres": "Le roman moyen-âge est défunt. Pauvre roman! que de merveilleuses réputations n'aura-t-il point créé pendant sa courte existence, qui mourront avec lui. Le roman moyen-âge? vous souvient-il encore des beaux jours de sa gloire, alors que

(16) "Le Globe", 17th May 1833, article "Mystères".

(17) *Ibidem*, 22nd May 1830.

(18) "Le Constitutionnel", 17th July 1834, article by I. C. T.

(19) "Revue encyclopédique", 1835, notice on Jubinal's "Poésies du moyen-âge".

les "pardieu, mon gentilhomme", les "holà, mon maître", les "messire" et les "bonnes dagues de Tolède", faisaient pâmer d'aise et la cour et la ville, alors que la fashion portait le menton orné de ces barbes de bouc abandonnées depuis aux marchands de pastilles du Sérail, alors que les femmes d'agents de change se coiffaient comme les Marguerites de Bourgogne..... Qu'elles sont loin déjà ces bouffonnes réminiscences de féodalité, qui nous firent faire aimable connaissance avec tant de ribauds (19 *bis*), tant de truands et de cheveux plats. O nos bons aïeux... ne nous en veuillez point trop... pour cette merveilleuse impudence que l'on a eu de vous faire parler un baragouin dont il n'y eut jamais de grammaire..... Hélas! que sont-ils devenus tous ces chroniqueurs imberbes, si naïvement ignorants pour la plupart, malgré leurs prétentions savantasses, parodistes par vanité et par commande, de quelques hommes de haute portée et d'instruction vraie?..... Que sont-ils devenus tous ces antiquaires de rencontre qui, pour avoir acheté, peut-être, sur le quai Voltaire, quelque vieille armure gothique, défroque rouillée, d'un cuirassier du trente-deuxième, se sont crus les rivaux de Walter Scott, et ont rêvé faire preuve de savoir historique, en entassant, défigurant, rapiécant sur papier mécanique, des morceaux déchiquetés à tous coins, des malheureux bouquins de la bibliothèque Sainte-Genève" (20). But in reality neither the Middle-Ages nor the more general novel à la Walter Scott (especially the latter) were defunct in 1836. Four years after that date, B. de Xivrey (21) observed that the liking, the taste for the Middle Ages, fostered above all by the Waverley novels, had been about twenty years in existence, a long life for a fashion; so naturally that fashion seemed to be on the decline. The same writer alluded to the interminable repetitions made by the imitators of the Scottish novelist and to the bad reputation thereby cast on the Middle Ages. He did not (we observe) positively assert that imitation of Scott was lessening: he saw that indications pointed that way; but evidently the genre still flourished.

Another, a slighter influence came from abroad to affect French Romanticism in the 'thirties; that of Fenimore Cooper,

(19 *bis*) Probably a hit at P. Lacroix, the Bibliophile Jacob's "Roi des ribauds", published in 1831.

(20) "Gazette des théâtres", 11th Feb. 1836, article "Le Roman", by A. L. (probably Auguste Lireux, who became the editor in that month).

(21) "J. des Débats", 21st Oct. 1840.

thanks to whom arose the maritime novel. This fact is mentioned because Scott, by writing several stories that treat ably of the sea, undoubtedly influenced the American novelist in this genre. Scott and Cooper had produced "The Pirate" and "The Corsair" before Sue and Corbière brought out "la Salamandre" and "le Négrier" (22). In 1835 Leon Gozlan (23) declared that sea-stories, which originated in England and America, would receive development and sociability from French authors.

English novels in mass influenced the composition of the Romantic novel in France. In 1830 a reviewer (24) penned the following passage: "England is decidedly the nursery of novelists. It is she who, supplementing our writers' lack of activity or insufficient numbers, has, for some fifty years, had the right to feed the reading-rooms on the Continent and to satisfy the insatiable hunger of novel-readers. To the moral stories of Fanny Burney have succeeded the gloomy compositions of Anne Radcliffe and her imitators; then Walter Scott and the historical novel; Lord Normanby and the fashionable novel; police stories and so on. Among all those things, there are certainly distinguished works and even masterpieces; on the other hand it is not our duty to import the inferior products of this rich British industry". In 1833 the "Revue encyclopédique" entered a powerful plea for more attention to English novels. "Nowadays every book that is well received in England soon obtains a translator. It is an excellent means for stopping the gaps in our own resources, not that I accuse our literature of failing to turn out novels in sufficient quantity : I use the term insufficient not of the number but of the quality. Nevertheless, Walter Scott and a few other famous men set aside, it's my opinion that one does not in general pay as much attention to imported novels as they merit; one prefers mediocrity coloured by the national to worth devoid of it" (25). Several years later, a critic, taking Banim's "Candidate" as a typically British novel, ventured the statement that around the main theme were grouped numerous details on morals, customs and manners well-depicted and skillfully interwoven into the story, and that French novelists should follow the example of these foreign writers and employ their

(22) "Le Constitutionnel", 4th Dec. 1834.

(23) "Le Temps", 4th Jan. 1835

(24) "R. encyclopédique", Oct. 1830, l.'s notice on "Carwel".

(25) *Ibidem*, Sept. 1833, anon. notice on "Zohrab".

talent (often notable) in making known the nature of French society as it is and not as their unbridled imaginations represented it, disfigured and exaggerated (26). Little borrowing was practised on the novelists that flourished after Scott's death (27); Marryat, Dickens, Bulwer-Lytton. In the late 'forties, however, English novels continued to be very popular, and Ernest Daudet asserts that, as a small boy, he was, for nineteenth-century foreign literature, restricted to Scott, Byron, Cooper, Mayne Reid, and that there were others like him (28).

Very interesting is an indication offered us by Eugène Delacroix (29), who says that the Shakespearean combination of comedy and tragedy, preached and recommended in France from about the time of Hugo's "Cromwell", had a most unfortunate effect not only on the plays but on novels, even the best of these latter, Dumas's George Sand's and the others', being sadly spoilt by this doctrine. That suggestion, which has much to support it, was made by no other Romantic; it is worth noting that he accounts for the bad result in this way: "Shakespeare, immense genius, has the right to accustom our minds to this union of comic and tragic by his force, the frankness of his intentions and the grandeur of the plan, but this genre I believe forbidden to secondary genius".

Before passing to the French Romantic novelists themselves, we may note a few specific indications as to the influence exercised by certain English writers; scattered facts of this kind help towards a comprehensive general view,—and a general view over the novel is curiously difficult to obtain.

Take Shakespeare. Désiré Nisard (30) found in the higher-flying of the novels written about 1831 (and the few years on either side may be included) a language half-Shakespearean; such diction does figure in Hugo especially, in Balzac, de Vigny, de Musset; but it was not exactly widespread, nor was it, except in such a book as "Notre-Dame de Paris", at all intense. The subtle Sterne, though much less popular than in the last third of the preceding century and even less copied than in the first score years of the nineteenth, attracted several imitators. "Sterne

(26) "Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", May 1836.

(27) "Le Constitutionnel", 18th Jan. 1841, article by Y.

(28) E. Daudet: "Souvenirs de mon temps", 1921.

(29) "Journal", entry of 23rd April 1863.

(30) "J. des Débats", 15th June 1831.

was an original genius, and he has survived his critics..., from time to time his very personal manner still finds an imitator.... And this form of his, so well suited to egotism, is it not just the thing for our 'writing kind'?" (31). In 1838 appeared "Peter King", which began after the fashion of "Tristram Shandy"; the hero tells his story in much the same way as that person; apparently the pretention to English humour wasn't well-founded (32). Anne Radcliffe's influence lingered on early in our period, the comtesse de Nardouet published her "Panache rouge", "du Radcliffe tout pur" (33), and, later, the Englishwoman had a modest revival, for "certains [romanciers], dépités de s'être vus enlever l'argot des bagnes ou des tapis-francs, le cynisme social ou les rêveries monstrueuses inspirées par la soif de l'or, sont retournés aux "Mystères d'Udolphe", à "Rinaldo Rinaldini", à l'"Ombre sanglante"" (34). Since Scott's vogue in France (as we mentioned before) has by a certain critic been restricted to 1820-1830, it might be useful to present several details that run decidedly counter to this surmise, based on such a passage as the following (35), written, à propos of Salvandy's "Alonzo", avowedly an imitation, in 1824: "The agitations that we have lately experienced, and the serious interests that have resulted, furnish the explanation of the marvellous influence exercised by Sir Walter Scott, who as much dominates the period as it dominates him". Ten years after, Pichot's "Perroquet de Walter Scott" drew the just remark (36) : "Another speculation on the name of the Scottish novelist. M. Amédée Pichot slips into the shadow of the great master, doubtless in the hope that a ray of his glory will shine on him too". Extremely important is Armand de Pontmartin's precise statement (37) with regard to the year 1840: "Le roman historique n'était pas encore tout à fait démodé... et Walter Scott avait encore des disciples et des imitateurs d'arrière-saison". In that very year came Victor du Hamel's historical novel, "La Ligue d'Avila", which contained a

(31) "Le Mercure de France au XIX^e siècle", 1830 article "La Batignolaise et l'omnibus".

(32) "La Revue critique des livres nouveaux", Feb. 1838; the novel was by Mars.

(33) "La Pandore", 27th June 1824.

(34) "Annuaire historique universel", for 1836, in section on "Lettres".

(35) "Le Constitutionnel", 6th Jan. 1824. The book probably came out in Dec. 1823.

(36) "Le Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", Dec. 1834.

(37) A. de Pontmartin: "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", VIII.

character (38) transferred bodily from "Quentin Durward". Two late imitations are worth noting: in 1846 Auguste Callet issued "Aymé Verd", which, supposed to have been discovered among Scott's papers, was a close and successful pastiche (39); the next year, Fabre d'Olivet in "Le Prince Francisque" owed much to the method of the Waverley novelist, though he received a rap on the knuckles for attempting to go beyond it (40). About 1838, Marryat came to be imitated, for in April of that year we read that "since his novels, translated, were enjoyed by the French people, the native writers of maritime novels have seemed desirous of rivalling the Englishman" (41).

The evidence as to the English influence on the French novelists is intriguing. Hugo is generally thought to owe very little as a novelist: certainly the debt was not crushing; nor was it negligible. He admitted that in "Han d'Islande" he obtained from Scott the idea of making the persons display their own characters (42); it may have been this procedure that caused Alfred de Vigny, listening to the author reading the story, to say (43): "Je crois entendre Walter Scott". Of "Bug-Jargal" an anonymous reviewer searchingly observed (44): "When Victor Hugo makes Captain d'Auverney and his sergeant converse, he imitates Sterne.. If he wishes to acquaint us with the narrator's thoughts, he meditates in Byron's way. If he intends conducting us to the council of the island government, or among the Blacks,... he strives for the atmosphere of Scott". He was accused of taking "Le Dernier Jour d'un condamné" from an American gazette (45). Moreover, his "Notre-Dame de Paris" came under at least three specific English influences: Scott, Lewis, Shakespeare in that descending order of significance. Charles Monselet has the phrase, "cette brillante "Notre-Dame de Paris", œuvre de jeunesse, écrite sous l'influence de Walter et égale aux meilleurs romans du grand Ecossais" (46). Blaze de Bury (47) said that Hugo's novel,

(38) That of Maugrabin: see "Revue de Paris", June 1840, notice on the book in question.

(39) E. Biré: "Mes Souvenirs", (1908), p. 6.

(40) "L'Illustration", 3rd July 1847.

(41) "Revue critique des livres nouveaux", April 1838, notice on "Ardent Troughton".

(42) "Victor Hugo raconté", I, a letter written by V. H.

(43) P. Foucher: "Entre cour et jardin".

(44) "Le Globe", 2nd March 1826.

(45) "Le Corsaire", 21st April 1830.

(46) Ch. Monselet: "Petits mémoires littéraires", ch. XXIV, sec. 3.

(47) "Mes études et mes souvenirs", 23.

more even than de Vigny's "Cinq Mars", followed the practice of Scott; having drawn attention to the fact that in the Waverley novelist the action and characters always occupy "the front of the stage", in the French writer the "archeological" interest predominates, he declared that if, after reading "Notre-Dame", one takes up "Quentin Durward", there will be little doubt that this novel served Hugo as a model at many points. A certain critic (48) spoke of Hugo's Louis XI as "le Louis XI de "Quentin Durward", mais plus maigre, plus sec, moins loyal que celui de Walter Scott". In 1841, Léon Durocher (49) stated that by this time one could, without raising a storm, postulate Scott's powerful orientation of "Notre-Dame de Paris". Lewis also had a strong claim as an assistant: "M. Victor Hugo a imité le "Moine" dans.. "Notre-Dame de Paris". Son Claude Frollo n'est qu'un calque pâle de la figure originale d'Ambrosio" (50). This opinion was carried to its logical limits by one F. S. : (51) "Claude Frollo, vowed to the altar, torn between passion and duty, sacrificing his duty to his passion,.. is no other than Lewis's Ambrosio, the hero of "The Monk" "; he enumerated likenesses between Frollo's passion for Esmeralda and Ambrosio's for Antonia; for these and other traits, "Hugo has merely thought fit to clothe them in dramatic form, where Lewis used the narrative; the French author has to the end followed the English in what concerns Claude Frollo", some striking instances being given; "thus the whole character of Frollo and the part he plays constitue a most arresting imitation". Shakespeare's effect was more general, and Lamartine (52) with much justice termed "Notre-Dame de Paris" "le Shakespeare du roman". Far from negligible, then, was Hugo's debt in novels to English literature (53).

De Vigny as novelist drew on that source mostly in "Cinq Mars". "Stello", indeed, was said (54) (correctly, no doubt) to

(48) "L'Artiste", I, 105 (i. e. early 1831); see also I, 95, where Natalis de Wailly alludes to the resemblance in portraiture.

(49) "Le National", 14th Jan. 1841, in notice on Sand's "Compagnon du tour de France".

(50) "R. Britannique", June 1839, p. 250, foot note.

(51) "Le Constitutionnel", 2nd Sept. 1843.

(52) "Revue de Paris", 15th April 1904, "Lamartine et Victor Hugo", ed. by G. Simon; L's letter of 1st July 1831.

(53) We may mention that as a young man, Hugo wrote a few articles on English literature. In the "R. des D. Mondes" of Aug. 1832, Sainte Beuve praised his articles on Scott, Byron, Moore. Paul Stapfer doubled Hugo's familiarity with the Shakespearean texts, as we see in "Victor Hugo à Guernesey. Souvenirs personnels", p. 45.

(54) "R. de Paris", June 1832.

have owed its plan to "Tristram Shandy". But Scott meant much more than that to de Vigny's historical novel: in 1829 an authoritative review proclaimed the author as the most prominent of Scott's imitators in France (55). In an excellent article (56) on de Vigny, Eugène Faure asked: "Did the poet, in approaching the historical novel, allow himself to be won over by the successes of Walter Scott...? It is permissible to believe so. However that may be, if in this attempt he received the impulse of the Scotch novelist, he at least wished to maintain his liberty and march to the same goal by a new route, at the risk of losing his way"; while Scott subordinated history to fiction, de Vigny composed his novel with history itself; the book contained, however, one flagrant imitation of Scott, "the meeting of the judge Laubardemont and his son, on a stormy night, in the Pyrenees". Meg Merrilies was also imitated (57). The inspiration operated in a general way, and "Le Globe" mentioned de Vigny as being "obviously preoccupied with Scott" (58), while "Le Temps" declared that the form of his novel "exactly" reproduced that of the Waverley Novels (59). Fortoul distinguished in "Cinq Mars" two separate influences, Scott's and Byron's; the former in the desire to "retremper l'aristocratie dans l'émeute", the latter in the characterisation of Laubardemont's fantastic son (60). Several critics, on the other hand, disclaimed any direct orientation, as for instance Villemain, who in 1827 wrote to de Vigny concerning the novel under discussion: "Cela console de l'ennuyeuse histoire que vient de faire Walter Scott. Vous avez hérité de lui, de son vivant. Il écrit encore, mais vous êtes peintre à sa place" (61), and Chaudesaigues (62) when he asserted that the French author "se résolut de prendre au rebours le procédé de Walter Scott dans le roman historique, et à se créer ainsi un genre à lui", the difference being that while the Waverley novelist kept the great historical figures more or less in the background, de Vigny caused them to occupy the foreground. We see, therefore, that de Vigny drew in mass a little less than Hugo on English literature for the compo-

(55) "R. encyclopédique", May 1829, p. 510.

(56) "Revue indépendante", Feb. 1846.

(57) "Le Globe", 25th April 1829.

(58) *Ibidem*, 8th July 1826, review by S.-B. (Sainte-Beuve).

(59) "Le Temps", 19th Oct. 1832, article by P. B.

(60) "R. encyclopédique", July 1833, Fortoul's "De l'art actuel", sec. IV.

(61) E. Dupuy: "Alfred de Vigny. Ses amitiés, son rôle littéraire" 2 voll., 1910-1912.

(62) "R. des Deux Mondes", March 1837.

sition of novels, and used it notably in only one of his works in this genre.

Balzac is difficult. But we have a fair deal of evidence as to his knowledge of the literature. He wasn't acquainted with the language: "Je ne sais pas un mot d'anglais", he wrote (63) in 1843. He alluded (64) now and again to Shakespeare, of whom he possessed a fine copy, apparently much prized (65); he mentioned Milton cursorily once or twice (66). Richardson he liked: his example caused the French novelist to print his own early works (67); he read "Clarissa" at least three times (68) and often referred to it (69), but he didn't care for the other novels (70); and he seems to have studied the author (71). He not only cited Sterne (72), but thought very highly of "Tristram Shandy" (73). His admiration for Goldsmith may be glimpsed from the sentence (74), "Quant on veut atteindre à la beauté simple de l'Evangile, surpasser " le Vicaire de Wakefield" et mettre en action l'"Imitation de Jésus-Christ", il faut piocher, et ferme !" His attitude to Byron was somewhat similar: "Cette notice biographique sur Louis Lambert est une œuvre où j'ai voulu lutter avec Goethe et Byron, avec "Faust" et "Manfred" " (75). But though he often alluded to the glory (76) of Byron and called him the greatest English poet (77), he esteemed Scott far more highly. Balzac was evidently familiar (78) with the Waverley novels. Comparing Byron with Scott, he said (79): "Auprès de lui lord Byron n'est rien,

(63) "Lettres à l'Etrangère", at 28th May 1843; cf. letter of 21st June 1834.

(64) *Ibidem*, letters of 14th Dec. 1843, 31st May 1844, 25th Aug. 1844.

(65) G. Hanotaux and G. Vicaire: "La Jeunesse de Balzac", 1903, at pp. 152, 153, 155.

(66) See passim "Lettres à l'Etrangère".

(67) Ed. Werdet: "Portrait intime de Balzac", 1850.

(68) "Lettres à l'Etrangère", 29th April 1844.

(69) E. g. *ibidem*, at 20th Oct. 1837.

(70) *Ibid.*, 1st April 1838.

(71) E. g. *ibid.*, 20th May 1838, and "Correspondance" 1829, to the duchesse d'Abrantès.

(72) E. g. "Correspondance", 1830 letter to his sister.

(73) "Lettres à l'Etrangère", 27th March 1836.

(74) "Correspondance", March 1833, to Mme Z. Carraud.

(75) *Ibidem*, Aug. 1832 to his sister. Cf. 27th Aug. 1832, and June 1836 to Emile Regnault.

(76) "Lettres à l'Etrangère", March 1833, 27th March 1836.

(77) *Ibidem*, 23rd Jan. 1843.

(78) *Ibid.*, e. g. 22nd Oct. 1836, 22nd Jan. 1836; "Correspondance", 21st Dec. 1845, 6th Aug. 1846, and 1821 to Laura.

(79) "Lettres à l'Etrangère", 22nd Jan. 1838. This letter shows Balzac's critical opinion of the Waverley novels, some of which he considered masterpieces.

ou presque rien.....Scott grandira et Byron tombera. L'un a toujours été lui, l'autre a créé". Indeed, his greatest literary admiration was for Scott (80), who had the power of weaning him from distressing thoughts (81); he expressed his appreciation in good criticism, and made some excellent remarks on the manner in which Scott leads up to and handles the most important historical figure in any given novel (82). In the novels themselves, Balzac showed English influence, especially from Scott: he introduced into France the circumstantial story, sometimes romantic, more often realistic, with "milieux" carefully described; this he derived probably from Scott, who had written much that type of novel, with stress more on the romantic than on the realistic side. Lermnier (83) tells us that in 1829 "M. de Balzac flottait... entre Walter Scott et Rabelais"; Chavigny (84) says of him: "There's a penetrating observer, a satirical narrator, a Walter Scott much modified"; his enemies used to call him "the rival of Walter Scott" (85). He certainly did aim at emulating the Waverley novelist: in one of his letters he thanked his stars that his rivals were Molière and Scott, Lesage and Voltaire, not Eugene Sue (86); in another, he stated that it needed Scott to risk Conachar in "The Fair Maid of Perth", but he would, in "Les Héritiers Boi-rouge", go still further along that path (87). In "Le Dernier Chouan" he owed something to the man he so greatly admired, as Désiré Nisard (88) indicated in the words, "Parmi les imitations qu'ont fait naître chez nous les romans de Walter Scott, chacun place au premier rang le "Cinq-Mars" de M. de Vigny: cette place lui sera maintenant disputée, et peut-être appartient-elle au 'Dernier Chouan' ". When in 1833, his "Médecin de campagne" appeared, an able critic (89) found that the obvious source of inspiration was "The Vicar of Wakefield", and Alfred Dessessarts (90) called

(80) Flaubert: "Lettres à sa nièce Caroline" (1906), at 31st Dec. 1876.

(81) "R. des Deux Mondes", 15th Dec. 1919, 15th March, 1st April 1920, "Lettres à l'Etrangère. Nouvelle série", see letter of 26th Feb. 1845. (This would be in the January number).

(82) See "La Revue parisienne" (1840), 1st "Lettre", re "Lake Ontario".

(83) "R. des D. Mondes", 15th April 1847, article "De la peinture des mœurs contemporaines".

(84) "Echo de la littérature", 1848, "Panorama littéraire: nos romanciers".

(85) "Le Nouveau Figaro", 29th Dec. 1841.

(86) "Lettres à l'Etrangère", 17th Dec. 1844.

(87) *Ibidem*, 27th March 1836.

(88) "R. encyclopédique", March 1830, notice on "Le Dernier Chouan".

(89) "Le Temps", 27th Sept. 1833.

(90) "La France littéraire", Oct. 1833, in book-review.

it the pendant of Goldsmith's novel, and added that "l'auteur s'est même un peu inspiré du personnage si attendrissant de ce bon prêtre anglicain". It is instructive, in passing, to note that Balzac himself said (91) of a later novel: "When I conceived the plan of writing *"le Lys dans la vallée"*, I had, like Cooper, the thought of giving a splendid proportion to landscape. Penetrated with this idea, I plunged like a Pagan into natural pantheism". *"Le Sorcier"*, nominally by Horace de St. Aubin, was a rather ordinary imitation of Scott's general manner (92). Such was Balzac's debt in novels to English literature according to external evidence: internal evidence would probably demonstrate a much larger amount of borrowing. Of course, he also produced plays. In 1838 he composed a three-act drama, *"La Gina"*; *"C'est Othello" retourné*. *La Gina* sera un Othello femelle. *La scène est à Venise*" (93). Moreover, he showed himself a very capable and refreshing critic in his periodical, *"La Revue Parisienne"*, (94) which contained notable references to Scott, Cooper, Goldsmith and Lewis.

His rival, Dumas, owed rather less as novelist than as dramatist to English inspiration, which operated on him considerably in a general, little in a particular manner. "The analysis of Walter Scott", he said (95), "has made me understand the novel from a point of view different from that which prevails in this country; the same fidelity of manners and customs, of character and costume, with a livelier dialogue and more realistic passions, seemed to meet our requirements", and he once (96) confided to a friend that "Scott painted localities, characters, customs and manners: it was necessary to take the novel from his hands, as Raphael carried on from Perugini, and add a vivid treatment of the passions". Blaze de Bury (97), keen and delicate critic, observed that Dumas employed just the same kind of narrative as Walter Scott. In *"Impressions de voyage"* (1833) he aimed at reproducing English humour (98). His *"Les Stuarts"* constituted a depar-

(91) Léon Gozlan: *"Balzac en pantoufles"*, 1856.

(92) *"Le Temps"*, 7th April 1837.

(93) *"Lettres à l'Etrangère"*, 17th Sept. 1838.

(94) In 1840: unfortunately there appeared only one volume (355 pages in-18).

(95) *"Souvenirs de 1830 à 1842"*, VI.

(96) *Ibidem*, VIII.

(97) *"Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs"*, 262.

(98) *"Bulletin littéraire et scientifique"*, June 1837, in review of this work.

ture into the province of popular history and, as an agreeable vulgarisation, it resembled the history of Scotland narrated by Scott for his grandson, and it even borrowed freely from that book (99). As for Balzac, internal evidence would undoubtedly reveal in Dumas's novels an extensive indebtedness to English literature; the external evidence proves only a moderate debt.

Even more versatile than Dumas, Prosper Mérimée had a slightly English manner (100). Wonderful linguist, he possessed an excellent knowledge of the English language, which frequently provided him with words, phrases and sentences in his correspondence (101). He kept in touch with English books (102) and quoted very aptly from the literature (103), which seems to have been familiar to him, for the "*Lettres à une inconnue*" (104) contain references to Shakespeare, Swift, Sterne, Anne Lindsay, Bulwer Lytton, Dickens. For Shakespeare he had a deep regard: about 1830 he contributed to "*Le Globe*" an article (105) in which, proving that no difference existed between Aeschylus and Shakespeare, he compared the "*Eumenides*" with "*Hamlet*"; he quoted occasionally from the plays (106) and knew them in detail (107). Horace Walpole appealed to him keenly (108); Crabbe was to him the most eccentric of the English poets (109). "*Sur lui... lord Byron avait déteint. Mais Prosper Mérimée tout en subissant son influence, l'avait émondé, "françisé", dégagé de son lyrisme sombre, de ses ironies sinistres, de son caractère fatal, de ses attitudes de révolté, de désespéré, d'out-law*" " (110). He and Delécluze read together the "*Don Juan*" of Byron, whom the future author of "*Clara-Gazul*" held in particular esteem (111). As a young man, he "loved" Scott, though

(99) "*Bulletin littéraire et scientifique*", Sept. 1840.

(100) Ed. Grenier: "*Souvenirs littéraires*", p. 130.

(101) See especially "*Une Correspondance inédite de Mérimée*", 1897.

(102) *Ibidem*, at 9th Nov. 1856.

(103) *ibid.*, at 13th May 1858 and 21st June 1860.

(104) 2 voll. 1873.

(105) "*Lettres inédites de Prosper Mérimée*" (ed. by F. Chambon, 1900), at 7th Sept. 1846.

(106) See passim the "*Lettres à Panizzi*", 2 voll. 1881.

(107) "*Lettres à une inconnue*", passim.

(108) "*Lettres à Panizzi*", at 7th June 1870.

(109) "*Lettres aux Lagrené*" (ed. by F. Chambon, 1904), at Jan., (prob.) 1859, to Mme L.

(110) A. de Pontmartin: "*Mes mémoires. Seconde jeunesse*", p. 64.

(111) Delécluze: "*Souvenirs*".

he came later to weary of his repetitions (112); he was much amused by Dicken's "Sketches by Boz" (113); and he found much to charm in Bulwer Lytton's "Maltravers" and "Alice" (114). Scott exercised a general influence on his novels; Hippolyte Foulou (115) in 1833 said of Hugo and Mérimée: "Voilà les deux grandes manifestations de la poésie visible: ce sont deux élèves de Walter Scott". That statement undoubtedly implied the "Chronique du règne de Charles IX", and Auguste Barbier (116) remarked of the author that "Walter Scott l'impressionna et lui fit écrire la "Chronique...", roman fidèle à l'histoire pour les détails". That crisply told story appeared at a time when many writers were trying to reproduce Scott's manner (117), — when most of Europe was exhausting itself in the imitation of "Old Mortality" and "Ivanhoe". Concerning the "Chronique", an anonymous feuilletonist (118) wrote: "Mérimée's talent has much akin with Scott's and with Voltaire's, for it combines the picturesqueness of the one with the cruel irony of the other; if he differs from these men, it is that he avoids the prolixity of the Waverley novelist and the mocking inflexibility of the author of "Candide" ", and another anonymous critic (119) stated that "c'est toute la façon dramatique de Walter Scott, et non pas cependant la puérile manie d'imiter l'Ecosais". In "Colomba", too, he showed his practical appreciation of Scott, and Old Nick (120) summed up the question thus: "Mérimée imitates Scott; many people, à propos of "Colomba", have adressed him this reproach.. He has even stolen from him in detail the gracious figure of one of his heroines, for Lydia Nevill is astonishingly like Julia Mannering. One could even, in the "Chronicles of the Canongate", find the story of a woman who, obeying the dictates of ancient national prejudice, forces her son, as Colomba does her brother, to contravene, willy-nilly, the laws of a new order of things. But that's not sufficient cause to cry "Stop thief !" Walter Scott has always seemed to me the best and healthiest model that one could have..., and I don't think Mérimée will be offended if I say that

(112) Mérimée: "Une Correspondance inédite" at 15th Aug. 1859.

(113) "Lettres à une inconnue", at Jan. 1843.

(114) *Ibidem*, at Feb. 1843.

(115) "R. encyclopédique", July 1833, essay on "De l'art actuel", sec. V.

(116) "Souvenirs personnels".

(117) "J. des Débats", 1st Sept. 1832, G. P. in "Variétés".

(118) "Le Temps", 6th Jan. 1830.

(119) "La Revue française", March 1829, notice on the "Chronique".

(120) "Le National", 23rd July 1841.

he sometimes recalls Walter Scott". In no other of his novels did Mérimée,—so far as we know by historical evidence—, borrow details from English literature, though a close examination of the texts might well lead us to judge otherwise.

So much older than Mérimée, Stendhal (121) yet became prominent, and entered the field of the novel, later than his disciple. As early as 1803 he took lessons in English (122), but he was never an expert, and in fact his attempts to write it border on the amusing. He had, however, a pretty competent knowledge of the literature, alluded frequently to Shakespeare, Byron and Scott, and referred casually to such authors as Hume (123), Mrs. Radcliffe, (124), Sterne (125), Burke (126), Horace Walpole (127), Sheridan (128), Johnson (129), Crabbe (130), Locke (132), and Fielding (133). In 1806 he wrote (134) to his sister Pauline: "Estime dans les écrivains anglais la Force, l'Imagination, la Vérité avec laquelle ils montrent la nature, mais ne te laisse point séduire par leur enflure, leur gigantesque, leur noirceur d'imagination". In a list (135) of books that he drew up in 1804, Stendhal included the Works of Shakespeare, "The Beauties of Shakespeare", Pope's Homer, Milton, Blair's "Lectures", and an English grammar. In 1818 he declared (136) to a friend: "Je suis un romantique furieux, c'est-à-dire je suis pour Shakespeare contre Racine, et pour lord Byron contre Boileau". His "Vie de Rossini", as he admitted, was written for an English public (137); as early as 1820 he wished his work to be known across the Channel (138). Of all English writers, Shakespeare

(121) For the relations between these two, see G. Ferry's interesting article in "La Revue", 15th March 1908.

(122) "Correspondance de Stendhal", I, year 1803 passim.

(123) *Ibidem*, Aug. 1804; 30th April 1824.

(124) *Ibid.*, to Pauline 1804.

(125) *Ibid.*, 27th Nov. 1805.

(126) *Ibid.*, 25th Dec. 1810.

(127) *Ibid.*, 25th Aug. 1822.

(128) *Ibid.*, 6th Dec. 1825.

(129) *Ibid.*, 28th Dec. 1829.

(130) *Ibid.*, 30th Nov. 1835.

(132) *Ibid.*, 5th March 1806.

(133) "La Connaissance", 1920, p. 228, in "Nouvelles lettres intimes de Stendhal". Cf. "Correspondance", 6th Feb. 1831.

(134) "Correspondance de Stendhal", 5th March 1806.

(135) H. Cordier: "Stendhal et ses amis", 1890.

(136) "Correspondance" at 14th April 1818.

(137) *Mercure du XIX^e siècle*, 1823, III, 306.

(138) *"Mercure de France"*, 16th May 1910, "Stendhal et ses éditeurs (documents inédits)", ed. by A. Paupe; Dessurme's letter of 26th May 1820 (see p. 266).

meant the most to him, and formed one of the constituents in the education of his taste (139); in 1804 he entered in his diary the words (140), "Mon admiration pour Shakespeare croît tous les jours. Cet homme n'ennuie jamais et est la plus parfaite image de la nature, c'est le manuel qu'il me convient"; "Je passe sans cesse, pour ce grand homme, du plus tendre amour à la plus vive admiration... C'est pour mon cœur le plus grand poète qui ait existé (141)"; and he said that his sensibility, by operating on the Shakespearean characters, would increase his genius (142). He must certainly have benefited by his attention to the English dramatist, whom he not only always admired but cultivated very early: "Je crus naître en le lisant.... J'ai lu continuellement Shakespeare de 1796 à 1799" (143). When he was in England in late 1821, he told a friend that his only object in being there was to see his dramas played (144), and so ardent, so lasting was this passion that he made out his own epitaph thus (145): "Errico Beyle, Milanese, Visse, scrisse, amò; quest'anima adorava Cimarosa, Mozart è Shakespeare. M. de anni... il... 18". According to one who knew (146), poetry stood as a closed book to Stendhal, "cependant il était réellement sensible à certaines beautés de Shakespeare et du Dante". Such an obsession must have vitally influenced his work: the treatment of character and Nature in Shakespeare were apt to appeal very keenly to Henri Beyle. Several other writers claimed either admiration or esteem. "The fairest thing I could imagine in French", he declared (147) in 1810 "should be the elegy of Gray translated by André Chénier". In a note attached to the manuscript of "La Vie de Henri Brulard", he wrote the phrase: "Roman imité du "Vicaire de Wakefield", surtout pour la pureté des sentiments". His regard for Scott was of the tempered kind, and, though he re-read four or five of the novels with delight, he found their author weak in the treatment of passion and (strange error) little conversant with the human heart (148). He preferred

(139) Stendhal: "Journal", entry of 1802.

(140) *Ibidem*, at 1804.

(141) *Ibidem*, at 1805.

(142) *Ibid.*, ib.

(143) "La Vie de Henri Brulard", ch. XXVII.

(144) "Souvenirs d'égotisme" (1892), at 1821.

(145) *Ibidem*, for 1821.

(146) Mérimée: "H. B."

(147) "La Connaissance", March 1920, "Nouvelles lettres intimes de Stendhal", at 28th April 1810.

(148) "Souvenirs d'égotisme".

Byron (149) and especially liked "Don Juan", in which "rien qui est respectable n'est respecté". He was very struck, too, with "Lara" (150), "The Corsair" (151, and "Parisina", which last caused his soul to be troubled for a week (152). Yet despite all his reading in English literature, despite his cult for Shakespeare and his admiration for Scott and Byron, Stendhal was, by his contemporaries, only once charged with drawing on that source in his novels. Balzac told him (153) that "cette superbe et vraie description de bataille" in "La Chartreuse de Parme", exciting his jealousy, was composed "comme Borgognone et Wouwermans, Salvator Rosa et Walter Scott"; that's a mild charge. The fact is rather astonishing, but the solution lies in Stendhal's independence and originality. In "Racine et Shakespeare", which calls for notice, "l'auteur n'a pas eu l'art de paraître un peu plus douter de sa thèse; il a manqué d'adresse, il a attaqué trop de front les "classiques" (154), as he himself put it, but this brochure constituted a very well written plea for Romanticism (155); Stendhal "avait pris hautement le parti de Shakespeare contre Racine" (156).

Jules Sandeau (157) likewise seems not to have drawn on English literature for his novels, but his early collaborator, George Sand, not only knew and admired, but sometimes used it. When young, she had an intimate knowledge of the language, practised at the convent, which, having a British personnel, encouraged conversation in English (158); and later, though she lost familiarity with the spoken tongue, she employed many words, phrases and sentences left from the days when she had been almost as familiar with the foreign as with her own language (159), and when she wrote English very creditably indeed (160). In 1871 she said of French: "Je lui préfère l'anglais..

(149) Delécluze: "Souvenirs".

(150) "Correspondance", 24th Aug. 1829.

(151) *Ibidem*, 1st Oct. 1816.

(152) *Ibid.*, 23rd June 1823, a letter to Byron, — it was never sent.

(153) "Correspondance de H. de Balzac", at 20th March 1839.

(154) "Correspondance de Stendhal", 6th March 1823.

(155) "Revue encyclopédique", March 1823, p. 622.

(156) Léon Aubineau: "Regards en arrière, récits et souvenirs", 1888.

(157) In the light of external evidence alone. He seems also to have known very little of English literature.

(158) George Sand: "Histoire de ma vie" (4 voll., 1854-1855), vol. III passim.

(159) *Ibidem*, IV passim.

(160) Edmond Plauchut: "Autour de Nohant" (1897), early in the book.

C'est une langue claire, énergique, régulière, allant au fait et tout aussi propre à rendre les nuances que la nôtre" (161). At the age of seventeen, she became acquainted with Shakespeare, Milton, Pope (162) ; Chateaubriand's René personified her own longings, and "Byron came immediately to strike an even ruder blow at my poor brain. The enthusiasm that I had felt for melancholy poets less sublime, less sombre, Gilbert, Millevoye, Young, Petrarch and others, was surpassed. Shakespeare's Hamlet and Jacques quite finished me. All these splendid cries of eternal human pain came to crown the work of disenchantment begun by the moralists" (163). When she was an old woman, she confided thus to a trusty correspondent (164) : "I too remember the emotion stirred in me by the works of Byron, Goethe and Scott ; they were my youthful reading, before I had thought of writing. In that romantic period, I'd have liked to be a creature eaten which grief and laden with an immense remorse ; I was quite annoyed at not having committed a crime that would allow me to know the intoxication of despair! Then I calmed myself with those good Waverley novels, which offer so much to inspire courage and inculcate honour, uprightness : I'd have wished to be the young mountaineer entering frankly and bravely on the life of adventure". Shakespeare and Byron were her favourites. She often quoted or alluded to (165) the dramatist, whom she considered magnificent ; a year before she died she wrote to Flaubert : "... Shakespeare,... c'est celui-là qui met des hommes aux prises avec les faits ; remarque que, par eux, soit en bien, soit en mal, le fait est toujours vaincu. Ils l'écrasent avec lui" (166). Victor Hugo went so far as to say (167) : "Mme Sand est grande, et le montre. Sa lettre sur le "William Shakespeare" est admirable". Her appreciation of Hamlet, for instance, may be seen from the passage (168) : "No-

(161) G. Sand: "Impressions et souvenirs" (1873), a passage written in Aug. 1871.

(162) "Histoire de ma vie", III, 4th part, ch. 4.

(163) *Ibidem*, III, 4th part, ch. 6.

(164) Charles Edmond: see "George Sand: Correspondance", (6 voll., 1882-1884), at 26th Sept. 1875.

(165) "Histoire de ma vie", passim. Neat at times: she called one of her admirers "l'Othello de la copie" (see Spoelberch de Lovenjoul: "La véritable histoire de "Elle et lui", enlarged edition of 1897; 1st ed. 1896).

(166) "Correspondance entre George Sand et Flaubert" (ed. by H. Amic, 1904), at 18th Dec. 1875.

(167) "Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul Meurice" V. H. on 29th May 1864.

(168) Her "Correspondance", at Jan. 1853 to Th. Silvestre.

body has felt like Delacroix the dolorous type of Hamlet. No one has set in a more poetic light and posed in a more realistic attitude this hero of suffering, of indignation, of doubt and irony, who was, however, before his ecstasies, "the glass of fashion" and "the mould of form",—in other words, an accomplished man of the world". She contributed an article to the "Galleries des femmes de Shakespeare" (169), and it was on Shakespeare's account that she formed a friendship with A. Lacroix (170), scholar and publisher. Byron also figured largely in her life, as we see from the fact that Daniélo (171), addressing George Sand and referring to Chateaubriand, said: "Vous avez bien voulu le reconnaître... pour l'auteur, ou du moins l'un des auteurs de votre "développement",... quoique vous procédiez peut-être un peu plus de Voltaire, de Jean-Jacques et de Byron". She undoubtedly owed more in her work to Byron than to Shakespeare, though she had the greater intellectual admiration for the dramatist: the poet entered into the very fibres of her nature, for he was veritably her "brother" (172). As a girl, she had read Byron in the original (173), and was evidently much impressed, for in 1836 she cited Byron as a master of the plastic, which she recommended Eugène Pelletan to cultivate (174), and some years later she exclaimed (175) that "le vertige de suicide de Manfred est si profondément humain!" In a splendid article, she treated Byron at great length: in 1839 Sainte-Beuve described the essay (176) (which appeared in the "Revue des Deux Mondes") as "eloquent", while early the following year Edouard Grenier, on the eve of meeting the famous authoress, said to himself, "je l'entretiendrai... de son "Essai sur le drame fantastique",... où elle compare "Faust", "Manfred" et "les Aïeux" de Mickiewicz" (177). Her Byronic ten-

(169) "Le National", 7th June 1838, an advertisement.

(170) "Nouvelle Revue internationale", Sept.-Déc. 1897. "Souvenirs d'un éditeur". This was the Lacroix that in 1856 published his thesis on the "Histoire de l'influence de Shakespeare sur le théâtre français".

(171) J. Daniélo: "Les Conversations de M. de Chateaubriand", 1864.

(172) As H. de la Morvonnais called her in an open letter inserted in "La Vigie de l'Ouest", 7th July 1840 (see E. Fleury's "Hippolyte de la Morvonnais", 1911).

(173) "Histoire de ma vie" III, 3rd part, ch. 12.

(174) Her "Correspondance", 28th Feb. 1836.

(175) *Ibidem*, 22nd May 1847, to Mazzini.

(176) "Correspondance de Sainte-Beuve avec M. et Mme Juste Oliver", ed. by Mme Bertrand, 1904; letter of late 1839.

(177) Ed. Grenier: "Souvenirs littéraires", p. 96.

dencies occasionally gave offence, and in 1844 a critic (178) remarked that "parfois elle blasphème avec la sauvage ironie de Byron, et rit comme lui de ce rire âpre et sardonique qui fait peur". Of her general attitude towards the English poet, the grave Lermnier (179) observed that same year : "People say that there was a moment when George Sand would have liked to join Byron in Greece, so much was this young imagination already struck with the heroism and the genius of the poet who became a soldier! Indeed, it is easy, in reading certain of her works, to recognise the profound impression that the singer of "Childe Harold" produced on her. Poetess, she felt naturally attracted towards a great poet". She came into contact also with the "roman terrifiant", and read with delight and terror one of Anne Radcliffe's novels, while at the convent she heard Scottish and Irish legends of a hair-raising kind (180). Her pre-1840 novels, "Valentine", "Indiana", "Lélia", "Jacques", "Mauprat", "Spiridion", are decidedly Romantic, and the influence under which they were written may have as much derived from English as from French literature,— a surmise warranted by the indications supplied as to her reading. In 1833 she wrote to Sainte-Beuve (181) : "J'aurais bien fait, dans mes intérêts, de publier, après "Lélia", un roman plus rapproché du genre de Walter Scott". Concerning "Les Beaux Messieurs de Bois-Doré", she claimed that the historical issue was rigorously exact ; "mais tout cela ne fait pas un roman de Walter Scott", to which she added (182), as though regretfully, "on n'en fait plus". Her "Lélia" bore marks of English influence, as de Musset saw when he wrote to her (183) : "Il y a dans Lélia des vingtaines de pages qui vont droit au cœur, franchement, vigoureusement, tout aussi belles que celles de René et de Lara", and as Planche (184) stated clearly : "Lélia'..., par la forme lyrique des apostrophes, alterne entre 'Manfred' et le 'Phédon' ". Emile Souvestre (185) called the "Lettres d'un voyageur" admirable confidences "where

(178) In "L'Illustration", 22nd June 1844, article on "Femmes de lettres françaises contemporaines".

(179) "Revue des Deux Mondes", 1st April 1844, pp. 101-102.

(180) "Histoire de ma vie", III, 3rd part. ch. II.

(181) "George Sand: Lettres à Alfred de Musset et à Sainte-Beuve" (ed. by S. Rocheblave, 1897), at 27th Nov. 1833.

(182) Her "Correspondance", 13th Jun 1857.

(183) De Musset: "Correspondance", July 1833.

(184) "R. des D. Mondes", Aug. 1833, article on "Lélia".

(185) "Le Temps", 16th April 1837.

you discover an indefinable mixture of "Childe Harold" and "Tristram Shandy" ". "L'Uscoque" was noted by Gautier (186) as an imitation of Byron's "Corsair", and another critic (187) pronounced thus : "The "Uscoque" forms nothing but a paraphrase of "The Corsair" ; George Sand acknowledges the debt ; yet nobody disputes the merit of the book". Of "Rudolstadt", Lerminier (188) remarked that in conducting her readers to "The Castle of the Giants", inhabited by the nobles, she had the intention of arriving at the effects gained by the author of "The Mysteries of Udolpho". Her "Mare au Diable" (1846) drew the following observation (189) : "In the notice to the reader, George Sand has not evoked in vain the name of Goldsmith, for her work, although in form it is utterly different, resembles "The Vicar of Wakefield" by its freshness and simplicity". In "Cadio" (1868), Flaubert noted a scene composed in the manner of Shakespeare (190) : "celle du délégué de la convention avec ses deux secrétaires est d'une force inouïe". So that in her novels, George Sand was considerably indebted to English Literature, and, though she didn't always feel bound to shout the borrowing on the housetops, she avoided repudiating what she undoubtedly knew to be patent to keen observers ; moreover, she wove the foreign element thoroughly into the texture of her work. Nor must we forget her comedy, "Comme il vous plaira" (1856), "tiré et imité de Shakespeare". In her magnanimous way, she said that the great dramatist triumphed more signally than she had expected (191) ; but, as Delaunay (192), who stressed the difficulty of modernising this play, has told us, the play, despite Régnier's skilful staging, met with only a partial success; "si le public des premières représentations sembla prendre plaisir à cette reconstitution délicate, bien écrite et jouée par l'élite [de la troupe de la Comédie-Française], les spectateurs suivants ne cachèrent pas leur ennui".

Silence reigns for A. de Musset's "Confessions d'un enfant

(186) "La Presse", 24th Feb. 1840.

(187) "Echo de la littérature", 1840, in notice on Foucher's "Bianca Contarini".

(188) "R. des D. Mondes", 1st April 1844. — 107.

(189) "R. indépendante", Aug. 1846, Eug. Maron's "Revue des derniers romans-feuilletons".

(190) "Correspondance entre George Sand et Flaubert", at 1868.

(191) Her "Correspondance", at 13th April 1856.

(192) "Souvenirs de Delaunay de la Comédie-Française", ed. by le comte Fleury, 1901.

du siècle" and his "Contes" and "Nouvelles". Internal criticism finds the Byronic element strong in the novel : the shorter stories are delightfully Musset, not someone else. For Gautier also, external evidence affords nothing indicative of English influence on the novels (193) of 1830-1848, though, since some of his early poetry bore the very clear imprint of Byron, we may suggest that subjective evidence would prove an orientation by the author of "Don Juan" and "Childe Harold".

But there is no paucity of objective facts for Jules Barbey d'Aureville, one of the most picturesque figures in French literature of 1830-1875 ; he became known properly only about 1840. Though he asserted that he had no respect for England (194), he knew much about her, as we see from de Vigny's compliment (195) : "Vous connaissez l'Angleterre, ce me semble, aussi bien qu'Hamilton connaissait la France, et ni sa langue ni ses mœurs n'ont de mystères pour vous". In his letters to Trébutien, the conscientious editor of *Maurice* and *Eugénie de Guérin*, he used English words time and time again. For English literature he had a deep affection, rather a passion, and the general tenor of his remarks justifies Charles Buet's criticism (196) : "M. d'Aureville avait une prédilection marquée pour Shakespeare, Byron, Burns, Walter Scott, et ce n'est pas sans raison que M. Léon Ristor le comparait à un écrivain anglais transplanté parmi nous". His note-book (197) contained interesting references to, and quotations from, English literature, in which he was soaked, as appears, for example, in the following allusion (198) to an essay : "Il y a ici et là deux ou trois touches sur Sterne, l'un de mes plus vieux favoris, que sont assez dans le sentiment de cet adorable génie qui porte à sa boutonnière une des fleurs, la plus pâle, du bouquet d'Ophélie, et sur la poudre de sa perruque le plus mélancolique rayon qui soit jamais tombé d'une lune rêveuse sur les fleurs jaunes des cimetières que Gray a chantés". He revered Shakespeare, of whom he said in an enthusiastic moment (199) : "Tout ce qui n'est pas lui auprès

(193) There are in "Mademoiselle de Maupin" a pretty piece of paraphrasing from Thomson's "Seasons" and a sustained allusion to "All's well that ends well".

(194) Barbey d'Aureville: "Lettres à Trébutien" (2 vols., 1908), at 30th Sept. 1851.

(195) "Alfred de Vigny: Correspondance", at 25th May 1862.

(196) Ch. Buet: "J. Barbey d'Aureville. Impressions et souvenirs", 1891.

(197) "La Revue", 1st July 1909, "Le Cahier de notes de Barbey d'Aureville", by J. Crepet.

(198) "Lettres à Trébutien", 7th Sept. 1853. (199) *Ibidem*, 6th June 1843.

de lui est néant" ; and he frequently alluded to and cited him (sometimes very pertinently and effectively) (200). He was familiar with Richardson (201). But for Burns he had a deep esteem ; he quoted him to justify the use of dialect (202) ; somewhere he spoke of "mon favori Burns, que j'adore et que je rêve de traduire" (203) ; elsewhere he stated that if he possessed abundance, facility and practice in verse, he wouldn't die without being the Burns of his country (204). In the Lake Poets he found occasional childish passages (205) ; on the other hand, "it would be unjust not to mention Barbey d'Aurevilly's prose translation of three of Wordsworth's poems ("Lucy Gray" and "We are Seven" being among the number), published in "La Revue indépendante" (206). Byron rather fascinated him : "Il y a des jours", wrote Edmond de Goncourt (207), "où Barbey d'Aurevilly m'apparaît comme un personnage de Byron, un Lara joué à Montparnasse". In 1843 one of the papers called him (208) "an unprincipled intelligence, destined to do tremendous harm, resuscitating the Byronic school", and in 1851 he communicated to Trébutien (209) : "I wrote my story, "Beppo", in a single night... It was I, the keen disciple of Byron or Alfieri that I have been for ten years. Byron and Alfieri, in fact, poisoned my youth,... and though, as it seems, I'm cured of these two poisons, I still have an occasional tendency towards Byronism" ; only two years later, he cried : "Why am I not Byron, why haven't I written "Childe Harold"? In several of his poems, he imitated Byron : "Voilà pourquoi je veux partir", "Clara", "Beauté" are "atmospheric" imitations (210). Poe he admired (211) : "to study him is to like him". Dickens he disliked intensely ; "l'esprit de Dickens m'est odieux. C'est une

(200) E. g. "J. Barbey d'Aurevilly. Lettres intimes" (ed. by Miss L. Read, 1921), at 1867, to Saint-Maur.

(201) E. G. "Lettres à Trébutien", 20th May 1850, 6th June 1851.

(202) *Ibidem*, 31st Oct. 1851.

(203) *Ibid.*, 20th Jan. 1854.

(204) *Ibid.*, Noël 1854.

(205) *Ib.*, late 1853 or early 1854.

(206) Buet: "Barbey d'Aurevilly. Impressions et souvenirs".

(207) "Journal des Goncourt", entry of 2nd Nov. 1884.

(208) See "Lettres à Trébutien", Nov. 1843; it was the "Echo français".

(209) *Ibidem*, 31st Oct. 1851.

(210) Buet, *op. cit.* — His "Niobé" also had an English air: see "Lettres à Trébutien", between 16th Jan. and 17th Nov. 1846.

(211) "Lettres de J. Barbey d'Aurevilly à Léon Bloy" (1902), at 15th Sept. 1875. By the way, B. d'A. was born in 1808 or 1809.

espèce d'ironie qui vulgarise tout" (212). Most of Barbey d'Aureville's critical work (213) was done after 1848, but his novels started to come out during the Romantic period. In 1845 was published his semi-historical "Du dandysme et de Georges Brummel", to which he referred very often in his correspondence (214); he had this book at heart. Such a theme appealed to him, as we further see from an intended inscription to a copy that he was sending Bulwer Lytton (215): "Hommage... au plus spirituel des fashionables et au plus fashionable des auteurs spirituels". Scott ("grand Accepté de l'Opinion", as he called him (216)) influenced d'Aureville to a certain extent: Buet, who relates that his friend read "Redgauntlet", "pour la millième fois peut-être", just before he died, called him (217) "the Walter Scott of Normandy"; in 1856 he was composing a novel after the fashion of Scott (218). While planning "L'Ensorcelée" (published in 1854), he wrote to Trébutien (219): "Le temps du Prince Noir, le mélange anglais, toutes choses grandioses et fécondes que je traiterais... sans imitation de Scott, mon talent ayant plus de passion, étant plus "byronien", et répugnant d'instinct à tout ce qui est imitation et reflet"; it was of this book that Boissin (220) observed: "Un souffle shakespearien en anime toutes les pages". Like Stendhal, Barbey d'Aureville had a first class knowledge of English literature, but he drew little on it for his novels.

The women-novelists (221), who were mediocre during the years of Romanticism, need not detain us. Latouche, whose work in this genre was slender, offers nothing for our subject; Victor d'Arlincourt (222), younger by four years, proves more

(212) See the "Mémoranda" (ed. by P. Bourget in 1883), at 19th Sept. 1858 (end of entry).

(213) "Ch. Baudelaire: "Souvenirs. Correspondances", 1872, contains B. d'A.'s letter of 14th May 1858, useful for critical opinion on Poe in particular and for critical standpoint in general.

(214) E. g. "L. à T.", 6th May and 6th June 1843.

(215) *Ibidem*, 30th Dec. 1844.

(216) E. g. "Lettres à Trébutien", 15th April 1855. He often alluded to Scott; e. g. especially *ibidem*, "le jour des morts", 1854.

(217) Buet, *op. cit.*

(218) "Mémoranda", at 3rd Oct. 1856.

(219) *Op. cit.*, 18th Feb. 1852.

(220) F. Boissin: "Barbey d'Aureville et Eugénie de Guérin (Souvenirs littéraires)", 1891, a booklet.

(221) Mme Desbordes-Valmore has been treated in the chapter on poetry; Mme de Duras, Delphine Gay, and Louise Colet borrowed extremely little from English literature for their novels.

(222) A. Marquiset's "Le Vicomte d'Arlincourt", 1909, is amusing.

interesting. This self-styled vicomte, who "sincerely thought himself the equal of all the brilliant writers of the day, a sharer in the combined qualities of Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Byron and Walter Scott" (223), wrote romances, weird and wonderful, cast in the mould of the novel, and three of them, "Le Solitaire", which made him famous or, rather, notorious in 1821, "Ipsiboé" in 1823, and "Les Rebelles" in 1832 showed an English influence. According to a witty daily (224), "Le Solitaire" obviously imitated the genre of Lord Byron, for "in the two writers one finds the same love of mystery, the same mixture of horrors and tender passion"; the hero closely resembled the titular character in "The Corsair" (225); a weighty journal, however, flatly denied any Byronic imitation, "'Le Solitaire' a son cachet particulier, et M. d'Arlinecourt est lui-même", but the critic, who, signing himself "V.", not only followed his strongly nationalistic practice but conformed with the tenets of the at this time stranger-distrusting periodical (226). "Ipsiboé" attracted two congruous statements, for Monselet (227) declared of the author that he sought in vain to reproduce the felicitous manner of "Ivanhoe", while an anonymous reviewer (228) said that he had invested the principal character with certain bizarre traits that attenuated any complete similarity to Scott's Lady of the Lake and Norna of Fitful Head. "Les Rebelles sous Charles V", an historical novel, was remarked on (229) thus: "Perhaps some rancorous critic will go and speak to the author about borrowings from the poet of "Lara" and "The Corsair"" : such haste to forestall comparative criticism is suspicious. Though a second-rater, d'Arlinecourt typified the more extravagant, the wilder kind of Romanticism that, in the twenties and early thirties, flourished alongside that of Lamartine, Hugo and de Vigny; extrinsically, he serves to present a luminous side-view on English influence during that period.

Paul Lacroix, commonly known as "le bibliophile Jacob", wrote stories more definitely historical. He tried to emulate Scott (230) and "bravely threw himself into the way opened by

(223) A. de Pontmartin: "Souvenirs d'un Vieux mélomane" (1878), p. 4.

(224) "Le Miroir", 31st March 1821.

(225) "La Quotidienne", 29th July 1821.

(226) "Journal des Débats", 6th March 1821.

(227) "Mes souvenirs littéraires".

(228) "Journal du commerce", 10th March 1823.

(229) "Le Temps", 23rd March 1832, article by P. B.

(230) "L'Artiste", I, 130 (i. e. early 1831).

the Waverley novelist ; cleverly, and so as to give us pleasure, he has set in the frame of the novel great and delightful figures from history, the costumes, customs and manners of France in days gone by ; "les Deux Fous", "le Roi des ribauds", "la Danse macabre", some of the "Soirées"... have appreciably helped to awaken in us the taste for mediaeval studies" (231) ; "imitator, avowed and ingenuous imitator of Walter Scott,... he has, without pretending to originality, been often original" (232). His "Soirées de Walter Scott", the earliest book to bring him fame, created a sensation in Paris (233) and was at first attributed to the author of "Ivanhoe". "Les Deux Fous" (1830) incurred the term (234) "singerie de Walter Scott", while "Le Roi des ribauds" was, a year after, described (235) as "cette vaste composition, où Walter Scott reconnaîtrait son élève". Like his model, Paul Lacroix (236) was an antiquarian and somewhat of an historian, and his "Histoire du xvr^e siècle en France" (237) formed an original imitation of the "lapidary" culling of chronicles practised by Scott in the "History of Scotland".

Fouinet, who had his hour of popularity, produced in 1834 a notable story, "Le Village sous les sables", in which Th. Muret (238) detected the influence of Goldsmith. A better known novelist, Alphonse Karr knew something of English literature, borrowed on at least one occasion from Shakespeare (239), and liked Sterne immensely,—these novelists had much in common. Especially in the thirties (240), Karr showed the qualities of "The Sentimental Journey" ; in 1842, G. de Molènes (241) declared the two writers akin in the matter of "charmantes songeries" and "dissertations spirituelles et touchantes", and added (242) that "sans donner à la France un Tristram Shandy, M. Karr aurait pu doter notre littérature, assez pauvre dans le genre humo-

(231) "L'Europe littéraire", 17th April 1833, article by C. F.

(232) "J. des Débats", 17th Nov. 1834.

(233) "R. des Deux Mondes".

(234) "Le Corsaire", 17th May 1830.

(235) In "L'Artiste", II, 68, (Sept. 1831).

(236) Who was born in 1806; died in 1884. For biographical details, see "P. Lacroix, bibliophile Jacob", published in 1885.

(237) "Le Temps", 19th Sept. 1834.

(238) "La Quotidienne", 27th Feb. 1834.

(239) "La France littéraire", Oct. 1833. Dessessart's notice on Karr's "Une Heure trop tard".

(240) *Ibidem*, Oct. 1835, article by Dessarts.

(241) "R. des D. Mondes", I, 305.

(242) *Ibidem*, *ibid.*, p. 307.

ristique, d'un livre original plein d'amusantes digressions" ; Philibert Audebrand (243), intriguing memoirist, stated that Karr wrote novels pregnant with a mocking spirit reminiscent of Sterne and Jean Paul Richter. "Le Chemin le plus court" (1836) according to that charming philanderer, Arsène Houssaye (244), was distinguished by an originality "qui prend souvent sa source entre Sterne et Xavier de Maistre", the latter himself an imitator of "The Sentimental Journey".

Four years Karr's senior, Eugène Sue, who entered into the lime-light with "Plik et Plok" in 1831, was considerably indebted to English literature : "la littérature maritime lui doit, en France, ses lettres de naturalité. Il y a transporté également le roman du grand monde et ce que les Anglais nomment : "Sketches of high life"" (245). But he benefited no less by Lord Byron than by Cooper and Bulwer Lytton. Sainte-Beuve (246) in 1840 referred to the English poet thus : "On l'a mis en petite monnaie ; on l'a pris jour par jour à petites doses. Beaucoup des personnages de M. Sue ne sont pas autres". Byron's influence affected the "atmosphere" of Sue's novels, and would therefore provide pleasant fare to subjective critics. More tangible was his importation of the sea-story. In "La Salamandre", Sue apparently traced a character on the lines of Iago (247) ; Gautier held that Szaffye imitated too closely the heroes of the satanic school and that he was a good fellow misled by reading a translation of Byron (248). Sue's essay at the historical novel brought on him the comment that it was clever to pass thus from the protection of Cooper to that of Scott (249). After the historical novel, the novel of social pity more or less wrapped about with familiar details and stirring adventures ; in other words, imitation of Dickens (250). Liking for Scott (251) took tangible form in "Jean Cavalier" (1840), while borrowing from Richardson (252) was effected in "Mathilde"

(243) "Mémoires d'un passant".

(244) "La France littéraire", Aug. 1836, in the "revue critique".

(245) "Le Constitutionnel", 5th May 1840.

(246) "R. des D. Mondes", 1840, III, 663. Compare the "J. des Débats", 14th June 1842, article by Cuvillier Fleury.

(247) "R. de Paris", Sept. 1832, "album section".

(248) Théo. Gautier "Souvenirs de théâtre, d'art et de critique".

(249) "J. des Débats", 1st Dec. 1838.

(250) "R. Britannique", Dec. 1842, p. 440; cf. *ibid.*, June 1844, p. 446, footnote by Pichot.

((251) "R. des D. Mondes", 1840, III, 665.

(252) *Ibidem*, 1842, I, 105, cf. *ibid.*, 1st Jan. 1844, nouvelle serie, V, 77.

(de Rochegune imitative of Grandison) ; the famous "Mystères de Paris" happily reproduced Dickens' manner (253), with the melodramatic element much increased ; the Dickensian influence undoubtedly affected others of Sue's novels (254). It is very significant that during the years 1830-1848, one of the three most popular novelists should have won and maintained his reputation by an adroit rehandling of three distinct kinds of novel as they were practised in England and America ; that he should have approached them frankly and used them freely.

One of those kinds, the historical novel, was practised with fair success by Alfred de Musset's elder brother, Paul. According to Planche (255), he considered Byron as one of his gods ; but he cultivated especially Scott, whom, with great modifications, he imitated (256) in "Anne Boleyn" (1836). A much abler and more versatile writer, Jules de Saint-Félix in the same year published "Cléopâtre, reine d'Egypte", of which a contemporary reviewer (257) said : "I think that, to produce a good historical novel with the plot laid in a period remote from ours, one should, like Walter Scott, be as good an antiquary as a novelist". A very different character, Arsène Houssaye enthusiastically admired Shakespeare, to whom he referred frequently and eulogistically in his "Confessions" ; for example, "Une galerie des femmes de Shakespeare, par Leslie, serait une bonne fortune pour tous les rêveurs comme moi, qui croient que les images du maître de la poésie anglaise sont plus vivantes que celles de la nature elle-même" (258). When young, he translated (259), for his personal satisfaction, the "Sentimental Journey" of Sterne, with whom he showed relationship on several counts. His "Serpent sous l'herbe" (1838) contained reminiscences of "Tristram Shandy", but, for one critic at least, "Le Serpent" demonstrated that Houssaye understood better Gessner than Sterne ; in this work he attempted to fuse the method of the two authors (260). The prolific Saintine in most of his novels

(253) "R. Britannique", Oct. 1842, p. 454.

(254) E. g. "Le Juif errant"; but I have no external evidence on the subject.

(255) "R. des D. Mondes", April 1832.

(256) "Le Siècle", 25th Jan. 1837.

(257) "Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", August 1836, notice on this book.

(258) A. Houssaye: "Mes Confessions", II.

(259) *Ibidem*, *ibid*.

(260) "R. de Paris", March 1838, D. M.'s book-review.

imitated Scott, generally in a felicitous manner (261). Pitre-Chevalier, novelist, historian and critic, was deeply influenced by the same writer ; in the preface to "Michel Colomb", an historical tale, he cried : "Britanny is to France what Scotland is to England ; the novelist of Britany could chose no other model than the novelist of Scotland. If I might but resemble sometimes this great model as much as my subject resembles his! I will at least emulate his glory" ; P. A. Vieillard observed on that passage : "I don't think Scott has up till now been better understood by a French imitator, who, besides, walks worthily in his tracks" (262) ; Cuvillier Fleury noted that Pitre-Chevalier followed the Waverley novelist's objective method (263). Drouineau, who seems to have enjoyed a notable fame in the 'thirties, proved in "Resignée" and "Le Manuscrit vert" that he had been much impressed by the life and writings of Byron (264) ; of the latter novel, a feuilletoniste (265) remarked : "The English poet himself figures in M. Drouineau's composition and has filled some pages with eloquence and poesy."

In sum, the French novelists drew much less than the dramatists on English literature ; to approximately the same degree as did the poets. But several prominent French writers, while in poetry they availed themselves of those riches, in the novel either used other sources or, what usually happened, acted independently ; such were Gautier, Alfred de Musset, Sainte-Beuve. Nevertheless, the novelists had recourse not only to the English novel, where Scott was hot favourite, but to English poetry in order to obtain plots, characters, suggestions as to atmosphere. Four kinds of novel, which in mass comprise a very large part of French prose fiction during the Romantic period, come from Great Britain : proceeding from Scott, the historical novel, which, easily the most prolific in France, was practised singularly by de Vigny, Mérimée and Victor Hugo, plurally and continuously by Paul Lacroix and Dumas, had the most importance for French Romanticism, because, very romantic, it constituted not only a large and definite school but extended its influence to the drama and to history ; deriving slightly from Scott, mostly

(261) "La Quotidienne", 4th Dec. 1834, article by Th. Muret.

(262) All this from "Le Moniteur universel", 29th Aug. 1841.

(263) "J. des Débats", 7th Dec. 1842.

(264) "R. encyclopédique", Dec. 1832, Saint-C.'s notice on "Resignée".

(265) "Le Constitutionnel" 31st Dec. 1832.

from Fenimore Cooper, and perhaps strengthened by the later example of Marryat, the maritime novel, which, finding its best exponent in Eugène Suë, instituted a small department in the novel, played a much smaller, yet a thoroughly consonant part in the formation and sustenance of the new movement; the fashionable novel, rising in Bulwer Lytton and Normanby and continued by Disraeli, attracted a certain number of French writers, but it seldom made for Romanticism; then, in the 'forties, the novel of social pity, as exemplified by Dickens, tended to produce, in Sue and others, not a doctrinaire but a familiarly realistic romantic novel (266) debased by melodramatic elements. Not belonging to any definite school in the majority of their novels, Hugo, Mérimée, George Sand*and Barbey d'Aurevilly all owed something to the English novel in general and to Scott's fictional method in particular, while they also translated into atmosphere and characterisation their admiration for Shakespeare and, still more, Byron; to that broad statement should be added the modification that extremely little, if at all, was Hugo indebted to Byron, Mérimée to Shakespeare. Numerous minor novelists unattached to a school, borrowed in their turn plots and incidents, more than atmosphere, from English literature.

(266) It was this kind of novel which, joining with the Flaubert genre, brought full-blooded realism in the Goncourts and Zola.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY

History, if it is to remain history in the true sense, cannot be intrinsically so romantic as poetry, drama, the novel, but it can run in just as definite a romantic channel, or, to put the case in another way, there can be a Romantic school of historians as marked as any group of poets, dramatists and novelists. That posited, and bearing in mind the realistic elements in Thierry, de Barante, Michelet and the others, we can logically discuss the English influence on those writers as Romantics.

"History", said Nisard (1), "has been different in France since Scott became known. The "Picturesque School" dates from that time. One is no longer an historian for having reflected on generalities ;... it is necessary to depict the men of bygone periods in the light of their thoughts, speech, actions, with their passions, costumes, countenances. To pretend that the ablest men of our epoch would not have arrived at that point without the compelling influence of the Scotch novelist, would be a piece of prospectus-flattery ; but how would the majority have become infatuated with chronicles, how would they have thrown themselves into the Middle Ages, if they hadn't been attracted by that vivacity of colour and that variety of characters of which Walter Scott seems to have found the secret ?" Now, Stendhal foresaw Scott's influence and in 1823 he wrote (2) : "Cinq ou six hommes d'Etat, en France, sont occupés à écrire l'histoire. Walter Scott aura une grande influence sur cette branche de notre littérature ; il aura ouvert les yeux sur les beautés de nos anciennes chroniques. Ce qui semblerait puéril au goût dédaigneux du siècle de Louis XV nous paraît actuellement très intéressant et peignant parfaitement les mœurs si pittoresques du *moyen*

(1) "J. des Débats", 6th Jan. 1830, article by "N."

(2) "Correspondance de Stendhal", 12th Feb. 1823, to Stritch

âge...". After the event, Blaze de Bury (3), who very carefully studied Scott's reaction on France, said, after speaking of the novel, that "his influence extended equally over history, which, from being rationalistic, became picturesque and addicted to archeological research and character-portraits..... The authority of the novelist to whom Thierry had paid dazzling homage established itself in every direction, and one has justly remarked that we have all learnt history from Scott; Michelet and Victor Hugo, Stendhal and Guizot, Vitet, Barante, Mérimée, Vigny and Fauriel are his tributaries". Thanks to the Waverley novelist, history became fashionable, and in 1825 Stendhal (4) could say that it was "Quentin Durward" and "Ivanhoe" which created the fashion; "MM. Guizot et Barante l'alimentent par de grands ouvrages; de jeunes écrivains par des 'résumés'".

De Barante, indeed, was typical of the Romantic school in history, and it was to Scott that homage should have been, and was, rendered for the innovation (5), which was inspired by his novels. In 1831 a competent though now forgotten critic (6), in a general article on Scott, wrote as follows: "The example of such an author and of such success were bound in France to redirect the attention of the public both to those annals of the Middle Ages which he had used to so good an effect and to our own history... Several distinguished men tried, therefore, to endow the history of those periods with the interest of the novel... This was done especially by the author of the "Ducs de Bourgogne (7)"." According to Anselme Petetin (8), Scott was the first who attempted to give greater truth to the painting of olden times by mingling the language of contemporaries with the narrative; but he did not push this method to its limits. De Barante applied it more thoroughly to history proper and met with brilliant success. Since the work on the Dukes of Burgundy, Capefigue followed suit; however, that writer went too far, with the result that his "Histoire de Philippe-Auguste" was hardly more than a collection of extracts from the chronicles.

Of course some critics deplored Scott's influence on history, and in 1836 one of them voiced his disgust in the words: "The

(3) "Mes études et mes souvenirs", p. 21.

(4) "Correspondance", 21st April 1825, to Stitch.

(5) "Mercure du XIX^e siècle", (1828) XX, 193.

(6) C. N. Allou in the "Revue encyclopédique", Jan. 1831.

(7) Published 1821-1824.

(8) "R. encyclopédique", March 1831, notice on Lacroix's "Soirées". !

much-applauded merits of the divine Scottish novelist, the complacent bravos with which, from the first, one greeted his imitators, and, more than anything else perhaps, that unfortunate instinct for originality which was for some time taken for genius, — these things encouraged the first overflow of romanesque history. MM. Barante, A. Thierry, Vitet, P.-L. Jacob (9), produced frightfully inconsequent work" (10). In the same year, nevertheless, Charles Magnin (11), having mentioned the furious and often unmethodical cult for the chronicles, declared that all these attempts, as one must recognise, had ensured progress for the study of history, for to waste of research there succeeded the more useful and serious work of learned men on the mediaeval period; a new and more important direction had been given to history, and investigation became daily more enlightened and conscientious. Summarising the historical situation for the years 1820-1836, Dumas (12) wrote: "Notre jeunesse, que les circonstances graves de nos derniers temps avaient préparée à des études sérieuses, se mit ardemment à l'œuvre, chacun s'enfonça dans la mine historique de nos bibliothèques, cherchant le filon qui lui paraissait le plus riche: Buchon (13), Thierry, Barante, Sismondi et Guizot en revinrent avec des trésors qu'ils déposèrent généreusement sur nos places publiques, afin que chacun pût y puiser". But by about 1840 the influence of Scott on history had waned almost to insignificance, and A. de Barthélemy-Lanta (14) expressed the new opinions as to method when in 1842 he said: "The greatest critics are at one in regarding the example given by Walter Scott as veritably perilous and harmful to history, despite the exactitude and the admirable verve of his pictures". No doubt he influenced a few individual studies and treatises, as for instance Amédée Thierry's "Histoire de la Gaule" (1840-1847) and "Histoire d'Attila et de ses successeurs" (1856), but no school devoted to Scott's "doctrines" existed later than about 1840.

There are a few details on the influence of English historians which have their objective interest. In 1830 it was

(9) I. e. Paul Lacroix.

(10) "Revue républicaine", April 1835, article by B. H.

(11) "R. encyclopédique", 1835, notice on Jubinal's "Poésies du moyen-âge".

(12) "La Presse", 15th July 1836.

(13) 1791-1846; chief works, "Coll. des chroniques nationales fr. du xiii^e au xvr^e s.", 1824-1829, and a "Histoire populaire des Français", 1832.

(14) "Echo de la littérature", March 1842.

said (15) of Hume and his "History of England" : "The work of this celebrated writer is very well known in France ; it is read and pondered by those who, among us, wish to make a thorough study of British history, and its precious qualities are widely appreciated". Hume commanded a bigger public than Gibbon ; in 1825 Stendhal (16) observed that "Gibbon, quoique Madame Guizot ait donné une bonne traduction de son "History of the Fall of the Roman Empire", n'a pas eu beaucoup de succès en France ; on a trouvé son style solennel et trop emphatique". Four years previously, a reviewer (17) of that translation had written : "As for the externals that the human race affects according to the period, I can think of nobody that has described them so successfully as Scott. One will be astonished to see a novelist figuring beside Tacitus and Montesquieu ; but this novelist is an historian that, better than any other, has set men in action and given movement to customs and manners..... In my opinion, three men have divided the merits of history : Tacitus, Montesquieu and Walter Scott". In 1823 Félix Bodin (18) remarked that he believed he could, without much risk, assert that there was in Scott's novels more history than in the work of half of the historians and the majority of annalists ; a year later, an anonymous critic (19) said that common report had it that history, as written up till that time, no longer satisfied the exigent curiosity of the period, — hence the fact that de Barante confessed the "Quentin Durward" inspiration of the "Ducs de Bourgogne". Looking back on the 'twenties, Delécluze (20) stated that "Ivanhoe" exercised a strong and enduring influence on French history : Thierry's "Conquête de l'Angleterre" was evidently suggested by that work ; de Barante's "Ducs de Bourgogne" by its texture and its mass of details recalled the composition of the Waverley novels ; but, to Delécluze's idea, those two writers sometimes degraded history to the status of memoirs. Respect for Scott's historical ability prevailed late in our period ; in 1844 the sixth volume of Michelet's "Histoire de France", the part dealing with Louis XI and Charles the Bold,

(15) "R. encyclopédique", Sept. 1830, Dufau's article on Lingard's "History".

(16) His "Correspondance", at 15th Oct. 1825, to Stritch.

(17) "Le Constitutionnel", 11th Nov. 1821.

(18) "Mercure du xix^e siècle", 1823, I, 453.

(19) "Le Constitutionnel", 26th Oct. 1824.

(20) "Souvenirs de soixante ans"; cf. "Le Globe", 30th June 1828. review of Thierry's "Lettres".

drew the following observation (21) : "On this ground, M. Michelet was at a tremendous disadvantage, for there he met two great masters, two admirable artists, the author of "Quentin Durward" and the author of the "Ducs de Bourgogne". But by dint of talent and hard work, M. Michelet has overcome the obstacle ; more learned and more exact than Walter Scott, he is also a more faithful painter than M. de Barante". Finally it may be noted that though Hallam and Lingard undoubtedly influenced historical method during the whole of the Romantic period, and Macaulay as surely reacted on the productions of the 'forties, none of these men helped or made for Romanticism.

Of the French historians, Thierry, though eight years younger than Guizot, was the first to enter the career indicated by Scott. From his family-papers (22) we know that Augustin and Amédée Thierry as youths became acquainted with a well-educated Englishman, who, struck with their keen intellect and love of study, entertained them, several times a week, at his apartment. He revealed and commented on the English historians of the eighteenth century : thus did Augustin discover and learn to penetrate the thought of Gibbon, Robertson, and especially Hume, whose personality and whose "History of England" fired him with enthusiasm. Apparently he came into close touch with Scott about 1820, and, the following year, he interrupted his investigation of mediaeval documents only to read, and re-read, Walter Scott (23), for whom he entertained a profound admiration; in 1822 Stendhal (24) called him "un demi-Scott". "Ivanhoe" influenced him instantaneously, almost magically (24 *bis*), and moved him to a transport of enthusiasm. As we learn from a sympathetic critic (25), Augustin Thierry put the matter thus : "Walter Scott venait de jeter son regard d'aigle sur la période vers laquelle se dirigeaient depuis trois ans tous les efforts de ma pensée..... Il avait coloré en poète une scène du long drame que je travaillais à construire avec la patience de l'historien. Ce qu'il y avait de réel au fond de son œuvre, les caractères généraux de l'époque..., l'aspect politique du pays, les

(21) "J. des Débats", 12th Jan. 1844, article by L. Alloury.

(22) A. Augustin-Thierry "Augustin Thierry d'après sa correspondance et ses papiers de famille", 1922.

(23) *Ibidem*.

(24) "Correspondance de Stendhal", 22nd Dec. 1822.

(24 *bis*) Blaze de Bury: "Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs", 45.

(25) *Ibidem*, 21.

mœurs diverses et les relations mutuelles des classes d'hommes, tout était d'accord avec les lignes du plan qui s'ébauchait alors dans mon esprit. Je l'avoue, au milieu des doutes qui accompagnaient tout travail consciencieux, mon ardeur et ma confiance furent doublées par l'espèce de sanction indirecte qu'un de mes aperçus favoris recevait de l'homme que je regarde comme le plus grand maître qu'il y ait jamais eu en fait de divination historique". The Abbé Gorini (26), who opposed him on certain points, said of Thierry and his followers, "Walter Scott a gâté tous ces messieurs". It is possible (27), however, that the idea of the "Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands", which was of course powerfully influenced in composition and atmosphere by "Ivanhoe", came from Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons", quoted by Scott.

The influence of Scott was translated more directly into the work of Prosper de Barante, who had a better knowledge of English literature. His "Souvenirs" (28) contain numerous references thereto; he tried to translate "Hamlet" (29); did translate Byron's "Prisoner of Chillon" (30), but liked the poet only at times (31); held the historians in high esteem (32); and possessed a sound and sympathetic knowledge of the English poets that flourished during the years 1770-1820 (33). In his historical works he showed that Scott had greatly impressed him, and he endeavoured to restore to history its "antique sincérité": "Le grand exemple présent de Walter Scott", wrote Sainte-Beuve (34), "venait apporter des preuves vivantes à l'appui de cette manière, en dehors, il est vrai, du cercle régulier de l'histoire, mais si près qu'il semblait qu'il n'y eût qu'un pas à faire pour y rentrer". In 1824 it was felt (35) that de Barante would be the historian of that genre which Scott handled as a poet; three years later he was, by the women at any rate, called "The Walter Scott of history" (36). He played the part most consis-

(26) "Augustin Thierry d'après... ses papiers de famille".

(27) A reviewer on the "R. Britannique", Feb. 1847, p. 467, considers it almost certain. Sharon Turner's book appeared in 1799.

(28) 8 voll., 1890-1901.

(29) "Souvenirs" 8. voll., 1890-1901, 50th Aug. 1821.

(30) *Ibidem*, letter of 22nd Aug. 1820.

(31) *Ibid.*, dislike of "Manfred", see letter of 26th Aug. 1819.

(32) *Ibid.*, letter of 20th Dec. 1843.

(33) "L'Artiste", Aug. 1842, his article on Allan Cunningham.

(34) "R. des D. Mondes", 1843, I, 927.

(35) "Le Constitutionnel", 6th Aug. 1824.

(36) "La Pandore", 10th March 1827.

tently in the "Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne", which Charles de Rémusat thought would answer and satisfy a certain intellectual need that Scott had developed (37). Blaze de Bury (38), gave it as his deliberate opinion that this work "had carried to the extreme limit the qualities and the defects of the narrative school..... You talk with Hyon, Pierre Dubois, Jacques Arteweld as you do with the characters of Walter Scott". "Son Louis XI, pour la réalité et la vie", Sainte-Beuve (39) remarked, "a soutenu la concurrence avec "Quentin Durward"". A critic on the staff of the "Constitutionnel" found that de Barante had yielded over-much to the allurements of chronicle-details as practised by Scott (40), and it was generally considered that the "Ducs de Bourgogne" presented many analogies with the Waverley novels (41). His later historical works, though we have no external evidence on the subject, showed the same influence in a modified form.

Mignet (42) was made of other stuff, and, though he may have owed something to Hume and Robertson, he did not draw on Scott. Guizot had a much closer connection with English literature and with English people; according to "Le Corsaire" he knew two things — English and history (43). There can be little doubt that he was influenced by such historians as Hume, Robertson, Lingard, Hallam and Macaulay, but not towards Romanticism; he ranked the last-named writer very high (44). He is supposed (45) to have got the idea of his "Histoire pour les enfants" from Dickens' "Child's History of England". But most interesting to us is his affection for Shakespeare: not only did he revise Letourneur's translation at the beginning of our period, but some thirty years later he published "Shakespeare et son temps". Nodier (46) warmly praised him for the manner in which he identified himself with the dramatist in the revised translation; he understood Shakespeare admirably (47) and,

(37) "Souvenirs du baron de Barante", R.'s letter of 18th July 1823.

(38) "Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs", 29.

(39) "R. des D. Mondes", 1843, I, 930.

(40) "Le Constitutionnel", 30th Sept. 1832.

(41) "La Pandore", 25th Feb. 1826.

(42) E. Petit's "François Mignet" (1889), at pp. 214 ff and 243, shows that M. approved very highly of Hallam's method and admired Macaulay.

(43) "Le Corsaire", 30th June 1831.

(44) See his "Mémoires" (8 voll., 1858-1861), V. ch. 30.

(45) Alex. Weill: "Introduction à mes mémoires" (1890), ch. X.

(46) "Annales de la littérature", 1822, VI, 223.

(47) "J. des Débats", 15th Nov. 1847.

right to the end of his life, he was always willing to discuss the man and his plays (48) ; in 1871 he called France "une immense tragédie de Shakespeare" (49).

His younger contemporary, Michelet, though rather averse from England and the English, possessed a more than passable knowledge of the literature. As a child he had his imagination kindled by the reading of "Robinson Crusoe", as a boy he found emotional response in Ossian, and as a youth he became acquainted with Shakespeare and Scott (50). Shakespeare (51) he read steadily in the early 'twenties, and in 1824 he noted, among the subjects that he intended studying, a "Comparison between Eschylus and Shakespeare" ; after the lapse of forty years he was still sufficiently familiar with the texts to quote (52). He must have been greatly taken with Milton's "Paradis Lost", for he put the first canto into Latin verse (53). For the British philosophers he had a deep regard : in 1821, "...Dugald Stewart qui me passionne. Jamais je ne remuai tant d'idées" (54) ; in February 1822, "Gibbon, Deslandes, Dugald Stewart, de Gérando, voilà ma pâture philosophique pour la fin de l'hiver" (55) ; Reid provided him with "the essence of French philosophy" (56) ; besides those authors, the other leading eighteenth century philosophers (57), Locke, Shaftesbury, Blair, Fergusson, Adam Smith, Paley, were read during the years 1818-1828. Having started with "Kenilworth", he worked steadily through Scott's novels (58) ; and he said that the memory of Byron once lent him fresh vigour (59). In 1847 a critic (60) stated that Michelet bore a close resemblance at many points to Carlyle. Moreover, the French historian paid a lot of attention to the English his-

(48) "Lettres de M. Guizot à sa famille et à ses amis" (1884), at 11th Feb. 1862. a letter proving that he suggested a series of Shakespearean drawings to Gustave Doré.

(49) "Life and Correspondence of Henry Reeve" (2 voll., 1898), II, 198.

(50) For these various facts see his "Ma Jeunesse", 1884.

(51) Next two details from his "Journal", 1888.

(52) Mme Edgar Quinet: "Cinquante ans d'amitié" (1899), M.'s letter of 24th March 1863.

(53) "Mon Journal", at 23rd March 1821.

(54) *Ibidem*, at 28th March 1821.

(55) *Ibid.*, 1st Feb. 1822.

(56) *Ib.*, in the section "Journal de mes idées" for 1821.

(57) *Ib.*, in list of books read during 1818-1828.

(58) *Ib.*, 1821-1826.

(59) "Mon Journal" at 14th Aug. 1820.

(60) Clarigny in "Le Constitutionnel". 25th Oct. 1847. Michelet, born in 1798, was three years younger than Carlyle.

torians, and from 1818 to 1829 he not only stressed Robertson, Gibbon, Hallam, Lingard and Mitford but read the historical works of Hume, Coxe, Pinkerton, Roscoe (61) and three or four more (62). The evidence is all of the potential kind ; nothing actual as to English influence on his work, which must, however, have been affected by so much reading in those writers.

While Henri Martin (1810-1883) apparently derived nothing from English sources, Alexis de Tocqueville benefited largely by England and her literature. In 1853 he wrote to a friend : "Malheureusement, et à mon grand regret, je ne connais pas l'Allemagne. J'ai vécu jusqu'ici presque exclusivement dans le monde anglais" (63) ; he had long known the people of America and England, and his attitude to the latter appears from the passage (64) written in 1836 : "Reeve me mande qu'il s'occupe d'une seconde édition anglaise de la "Démocratie". Cette nouvelle m'a fait grand plaisir ; car, à mes yeux, mes véritables juges sont autant en Angleterre qu'en France". He corresponded (65) frequently and for years with N. W. Senior and Henry Reeve, for long though less often with John Stuart Mill and the Grotes. De Tocqueville very highly esteemed Gibbon (66), the man, the historian, the stylist ; thought a lot of Macaulay (67) as historian and as writer ; said concerning Grote's "History of Greece", "Je n'aurais jamais cru qu'on pût s'intéresser aussi vivement à une histoire aussi vieille" (68). In Scott, whom he deemed a genius, he admired especially the art of investing fiction with consummate reality (69) ; in Byron he saw both an extraordinary man and a great poet (70). It would be irrelevant to enter into details on de Tocqueville's work, because he figures here, not as a Romantic historian (he was anything but that), but as an illustration of the influence exercised by English literature on the more intellectual writers of the period. For the same reason,

(61) "Mon Journal", reading list for the period.

(62) Watson, Walter Scott, Lady Morgan, Miss Wright.

(63) "Correspondance d'Alexis de Tocqueville" (2 voll., 1861), at 2nd Jan. 1853. — He married an English girl.

(64) "Nouvelle Correspondance d'Alexis de Tocqueville" (1866), at 5th June 1836.

(65) "Correspondance" and "Nouvelle Corr.", *passim*.

(66) "Correspondance", 23rd Feb. 1859.

(67) *Ibidem*, 2nd July 1853 and 22nd March 1858.

(68) *Ibid.*, 22nd March 1858, and cf. 23rd July 1858.

(69) "Nouvelle Correspondance", 26th Aug. 1833.

(70) Mme Ancelot: "Un Salon de Paris, 1824 à 1864. Souvenirs" (1866), T.'s letter of 27th May 1835.

we mention that Louis Blanc admired Shakespeare even to reverence : "Comment assigner le caractère général de cette poésie étrange, vaste creuset où sont venues se mêler, se fondre et bouillonner toutes les choses de la vie ?..... Shakespeare est contemporain de tous les âges : c'est une immortelle exception à toutes les règles" (71).

From this short account of the Romantic historians, we see that the principal English influence came from Scott, and, because it concerned only the Waverley novels, that influence was necessarily general in its application. It made for picturesqueness, vivid narrative, life-like portraits ; it affected atmosphere and method. The question of borrowings hardly crops up, historians being entitled to use whatever has been written ; so that in treating this section of French Romanticism, we have been restricted to noting the education and the general debt of Thierry, Michelet, de Barante and the rest ; that limitation, however, does not invalidate the statement that the Romantic historians owed much to English literature.

(71) "Revue du progrès", Feb. 1839, Blanc's article, "Avenir littéraire".

CHAPTEL VII

MISCELLANEOUS GENRES

It is a fact that the miscellaneous genres, philosophy, political and religious writings, translation, criticism, periodicals and so on, show, to a much slighter degree than the principal classes of literature, the phases and more or less temporary influences; they receive significant but not cataclysmal alterations from this or that movement; and therefore such English influence as exists on the minor genres has a great importance, far more as a sidelight on Romanticism than as a constituent part thereof.

In one genre, however, the Romantic element forms the chief and causative part; poetic prose. Three writers employed it notably during our period: Louis Bertrand (1), Maurice and Eugénie de Guérin. The first-named, who wrote the exquisite and fantastic "*Gaspard de la Nuit*" (1842), was in no wise indebted to English literature. Maurice de Guérin studied English, which he came to know pretty well (2): he quoted aptly (3). He felt himself in accord with the Lake Poets, whom he liked a great deal (4). He read Milton (5), Shakespeare (6), and adopted as an epigraph, to one of his poems, the dramatist's "*O nature! sois ma déesse*" (7). In 1830 to his sister (8): "*Depuis bien longtemps tu me demandes des détails sur mes lectures. Byron et le bonhomme Walter Scott m'ont occupé principalement; je*

(1) For general information see H. Chabeuf's "*Louis Bertrand et le Romantisme à Dijon*", 1889, and Chasle-Pavie's article in the "*Revue de Paris*", 1911. He was one of Sainte-Beuve's "protégés".

(2) See his "*Journal, lettres et poèmes*" (1865), letter of 6th Jan. 1832; cf. Du Breil de Marzan's "*Séjour de Maurice de Guérin en Bretagne. Impressions et souvenirs*".

(3) E. g. "*Journal*" at 1st May 1833 and 10th July 1832.

(4) Du Breil de Marzan's booklet.

(5) Letter to de Marzan, 20th Aug. 1833.

(6) Letter of 4th July 1834.

(7) H. de la Morvonnais's letter of June 1840 in Fleury's book on Morvonnais.

(8) Letter of 24th May 1830.

ne te dis rien de ces deux hommes, leur nom dit tout". Maurice was at one time influenced by the poet, and he continued to admire the novelist immensely (9). In his best work, however, he was himself. He died in 1839, and his almost heart-broken sister lived on till 1849. She, like her brother, often turned to English literature for delectation, and she seems to have been familiar (10) with Shakespeare, Byron and Scott. The Waverley novels charmed and moved her; in 1840 she wrote in her journal: "Lu 'Waverley'. Oh! la déchirante mort d'un frère, l'horrible catastrophe à la fin! J'en suis tout émue. Quoique fictions, ces sortes de choses pénètrent, font souffrir...; Walter Scott est si intéressant et plein d'effet sur le cœur dans cette lugubre peinture remplie de traits attendrissants" (11). Barbey d'Aurevilly, on sending a copy of her "Reliquiae" to Louis Veuillot, asked himself (12): "Sentira-t-il les beautés "éthérées"... de cette fille plus pure que tout, de cette "Lakiste" d'eau bénite et de larmes...?"

To describe the chief philosophers (13) of our period as Romantic would be sheer folly; Cousin, Comte, Damiron, Jouffroy, Ozanam were far from being Romantics, but they knew something of English literature, especially on its metaphysical, ethical and psychological sides (14). A brief indication as to the English influence on the philosophy written during the years 1820-1848 affords a very useful comment on the general significance of that influence for Romanticism. In 1826 Victor Cousin (15) wrote to his friend Pictet: "Scotch philosophy is the first protest of common sense against materialism and scepticism, and one must use and honour it before passing to anything else". It was, indeed, the Scotch philosophers, Adam Smith and, to a greater extent, Reid and Dugald Stewart, who

(9) For both these facts, see letters in A. Lefranc's "Maurice de Guérin", 1910.

(10) See *passim* "Journal et fragments", 1862, and "Lettres", 1864, both edited by Trébutien.

(11) "Journal", 2nd April 1840; cf. "Lettres", 2nd July, 1839.

(12) E. Grelé: "Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly", 2 voll., 1902-1904. Grelé doesn't say where he gets this: perhaps from one of B. d'A.'s letters to Trébutien.

(13) We must except Ballanche, who strikingly foresaw and who sympathised with Romanticism. For internal evidence, see "La Quinzaine", 16th March 1902, A. Prat: "Le Romantisme de Ballanche".

(14) See e. g. the various lots of Comte's correspondence, Jouffroy's "Correspondance" (1901), with which latter cf. the "J. des Débats", 10th June 1831, article by X.

(15) J. Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire: "Victor Cousin. Sa vie et sa correspondance" (3 voll. 1895), letter of 8th Aug. 1826.

appealed to and most influenced the French writers in this field. Jules Simon (16) gave, in 1833, the following advice to a correspondent : "My last counsel to you on philosophy is to study only Reid and Stewart". A year later, a bibliographical monthly (17) pronounced as follows : "The Scotch philosophy enjoys a high renown in France... Its doubts and indecisions on various points rendered it eminently fit to satisfy minds equally removed from idealistic mysticism and weary of materialistic negation, and so it was soon widely adopted ; on it rests almost entirely nowadays the philosophical teaching given in the colleges". That statement was corroborated in 1837 by a prominent daily (18), which, through a regular contributor, said that Scotch philosophy had become naturalised in France, learned men having transplanted it into the schools and universities, where it served as the basis of the metaphysical sciences. Obviously, so widespread an attention to this philosophy made for general Anglophilism. Renan in his note-books of 1845-1846 (19) referred on several occasions to the Scotch philosophers ; at the Issy seminar he learnt much from a teacher who "affectionnait la philosophie écossaise" ; "Reid fut... longtemps mon idéal", while Stewart (and Locke also) formed one of his favourite readings (20). Jules Levallois (21), born 1829, tells us that at the University, his philosophical portion consisted of Stewart and Reid.

Science proper and erudition are, of course, utterly irrelevant to the present discussion, but it is interesting to know that Cuvier possessed foreign literature in its daring and variety (22). The political and sociological writers and the publicists offer more. Referring to the years 1820-1840 in general and to M. de Staël (son of the famous authoress) in particular, Lamartine (23) said : "Il écrivait sur la constitution anglaise quelques brochures aussi vides et aussi ennuyeuses que tous les thèmes britanniques que ses amis nous développaient alors sur ce sujet pour donner un air de science doctorale à leurs pastiches de révolution de

(16) Jules Simon: "Premières années" (1901), letter of 27th Nov. 1833.

(17) "Le Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", Nov. 1834.

(18) "J. des Débats", 22nd March 1837, article by X.

(19) "Cahiers de jeunesse", 1906.

(20) For these quotations and details see his "Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse", 1883.

(21) "Milieu de siècle. Souvenirs d'un critique", 1896.

(22) Villemain: "Souvenirs contemporains" (ed. of 1874), II, 467.

(23) "A. de Lamartine par lui-même" (1892), p. 101.

branche cadette et d'aristocratie sans aristocrates". In 1821 "Le Constitutionnel" had remarked that the history of England was being much read, and that, there, one sought especially the origins and the development of the representative system (24). P. L. Courier (25) was too independent to borrow appreciably from English literature, but Edgar Quinet was to some extent indebted thereto. He learned (26) the language in Paris, and drove it home when he made a "delicious" journey to England; he must have known the literature rather well, for in 1840 he was asked as an authority what were the most remarkable literary productions in England for the past six years (27); he had started young on that too (28). As a child he read "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" (presumably in Letourneur's translation), and they were to him "an enchanted world", which he was loath to quit (29); as a grown man, he held an extremely high opinion of Shakespeare, the thinker (30) and the dramatist, and placed him, in the former capacity, alongside Descartes, Pascal, Leibnitz. He liked the historians, and in 1823 he wrote (31): "Je m'occupe de l'histoire: je lis celle de Charles V par Robertson, qui est très sage, très bien traduite par M. Suard. Je lis celle d'Angleterre de Hume, dont la marche est bien plus rapide et qui... offre un immense intérêt". In Byron he found a gloomy and dreamy sensibility that troubled him: he avoided speaking of it because it awakened a corresponding emotion that he feared to entertain (32). He was delighted with parts of Byron's memoirs (33). Delighted too with the Waverley novels, which he and his sister read together (34); Scott may have influenced his poetically historical writings, for he compared his work in this genre to Scott's (35). The Scotch philosophers were familiar to

(24) "Le Constitutionnel", 20th Jan. 1821, article "Littérature".

(25) His letters in the "Œuvres complètes de P. L. Courier", 1845, tell us nothing on the point.

(26) Edgar Quinet: "Lettres à sa mère" (2 voll. 1877), at 1820 and July 1821.

(27) Quinet: "Lettres d'exil", at 28th Dec. 1834, to V. Versigny.

(28) See passim "Histoire de mes idées" (1858), where Q. relates very pleasantly his development.

(29) *Ibidem*.

(30) "R. des D. M.", 1838, III, Q.'s article, "De l'unité des littératures modernes". Cf. *ibidem*, 1840, III, "Des poètes épiques".

(31) "Lettres à sa mère", 6th Jan. 1823.

(32) *Ibidem*, April 1820.

(33) Mme Edgar Quinet: "Cinquante ans d'amitié", Q.'s letter of Winter 1833-1834 to Michelet (p. 75 of 2nd edition).

(34) "Histoire de mes idées".

(35) "Lettres à sa mère", q. v. passim for cursory references.

him (36) ; later he took pleasure in Buckle and John Stuart Mill (37). In his prose epics he undoubtedly reproduced something of Milton's grand manner (38), while one may permissibly surmise that in his publicist writings he owed a little to the prose of the same man. Another prominent publicist and sociologist, Pierre Leroux, possessed a sound knowledge of English literature (39), to which he often alluded in his articles for "*La Revue indépendante*" (40). Shakespeare he admired enthusiastically (41) ; in Scott and Fenimore Cooper he showed keen interest (42) ; Byron, whom he analysed skilfully (43), appeared to him as "*le type de la poésie de notre âge*". As publicist and sociologist he probably derived something from Adam Smith, Payne and Godwin. Rather younger, Granier de Cassagnac had a lot of time for great English writers (44), though he hated to think that they powerfully reacted on French literature (45).

Naturally, the leading religious publicists were little if at all influenced by English theology, but, — and this is all that concerns us —, they did know a tolerable, in several instances a considerable, amount of the literature. Lamennais must have possessed a minute knowledge of Shakespeare : in 1830 he feelingly paraphrased (46) a striking scene from "*Henri VI*" ; throughout his life he quoted the dramatist from time to time and aptly (47), and specially affected "*There are more things in heaven and earth...*" (48). Milton was also familiar (49),

(36) "*Lettres à sa mère*", 20th June 1825.

(37) "*Lettres d'exil*" (4 voll. 1884-1887), at 7th July 1866.

(38) A. Pavie: "*Médaillons romantiques*", Boulay-Paty's letter to Victor Pavie, 6th May 1838 (see p. 286).

(39) "*R. Encyclopédique*", Nov. 1831, his article, "*La Poésie de notre époque*".

(40) Of which he was the chief editor ; see Nov. 1841, article "*Aux philosophes*" and Feb. 1846, the "*bulletin bibliographique*".

(41) "*R. indépendante*", Nov. 1841, "*Aux Philosophes*".

(42) "*R. encyclopédique*", Nov. 1831, "*La Poésie de notre époque*".

(43) *Ibidem*.

(44) E. g. "*La Presse*", 27th Aug. 1836.

(45) *Ibidem*, 13th July 1836.

(46) Lamennais: "*Correspondance*" (ed. by E. Forgues, 2 voll. 1859), at 24th July 1830.

(47) E. g. in "*Correspondance entre Lamennais et Vitrolles*" at 20th May, 1841.

(48) "*Un Lamennais inconnu*" (ed. by A. Leveille, 1898), at 13th April 1830 ; and "*Lettres inédites de Lamennais à la baronne Cottu*" (ed. by d'Haussonville, 1910) at 10th Aug. 1829.

(49) "*Correspondance*", 22nd Jan. 1826, and "*Revue de Paris*", 15th May and 1st June 1905, "*Lettres à Madame Yemeniz*" at 12th July, 1843.

Ossian apparently a favourite (50); Byron's "Don Juan" attracted him (51), while Manfred seemed a modernised Prometheus or Faust (52); Scott, on due deliberation, he liked less than Manzoni (53). Very significant for his religious and socialistic works is the following passage (54), taken from a letter sent to Montalembert in 1835 : "Je préfère... à toutes les rêveries les mâles travaux de cet O'Connell dont la puissance semble avoir frappé ton imagination ; de cet O'Connell qui pousse, de son bras vigoureux, le vieux monde dans l'abîme et proclame le règne d'un nouveau droit, du droit des peuples, de l'égalité et de la liberté"; Lamennais there described O'Connell as "ce colossal révolutionnaire". Still more combatant, the secular Louis Veuillot appreciated the dramas of Shakespeare, whom he cited very effectively (55) ; seemingly he knew Sterne (56), certainly he knew Scott (57). Montalembert was born in London, spent his childhood in England, and had a partly Scottish origin, his maternal grandfather being a baron of that country (58). At the age of seventeen (59), he already spoke glowingly about English, "the language of the greatest orators and philosophers of modern times", and asked, "Quelle est la langue qui peut offrir à l'étudiant une série de jouissances comparables à celles qu'il doit trouver dans Bacon, Newton, Locke, ...Addison, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Byron, Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Burke, etc. ?" In addition to those writers, he read (60) Cowper, Byron, Moore, Banim, Scott, Rogers. Shakespeare he studied carefully, and he found (61) "The Tempest" sublime in parts, ridiculous in others, "Midsummer Night's Dream" a little boring, "Othello" too stirring, "Hamlet" divine. For Cowper

(50) A. Roussel: "Lamennais intime" (1897), letter of 21st Nov. 1832.

(51) *Ibidem*, letter of 10th Dec. 1835.

(52) "R. de Paris", article quoted, at 29th Aug. 1842.

(53) "Correspondance", 30th Nov. 1827.

(54) "Lettres de Lamennais à Montalembert" (ed. by Forgues, 1898), at 6th Oct. 1835.

(55) L. Veuillot: "Correspondance" (7 voll. 1884-1892), I, at 7th Aug. 1841.

(56) *Ibidem*, 29th Oct. 1847.

(57) "L'Univers", 9th or 16th April 1843, feuilleton ; taken from Biré's "Victor Hugo après 1830".

(58) For these three details, see Ed. Grenier: "Souvenirs littéraires", p. 314.

(59) Montalembert and Cornudet: "Lettres à un ami de college (1827-1830)", enlarged edition of 1884, at 10th Sept. 1827.

(60) For all except the last, see *passim* "Lettres à un ami" ; for Rogers, "Corr. de Montalembert et de Cornudet" (1905) at 10th Dec. 1842.

(61) V. Bucaille: "La Jeunesse de Montalembert... documents inédits (1810-1830)" (1911), p. 19. Bucaille takes this detail from P. Lacanuet's "Jeunesse de Montalembert", p. 23.

he felt esteem and affection : as a youth he went on long walks, during which he read (62) from "mon favori Thomson ou... Cowper, que je n'aime pas moins"; he begged Laprade to include in the second edition of "Le Sentiment de la nature chez les modernes" this poet, "qui a... souvent très bien compris la nature anglaise". Scott brought him sheer delight (63), Byron ecstasy; in 1827 he wrote to Cornudet : "J'ai presque fini lord Byron. J'en suis enthousiasmé. J'attends avec une vive impatience le moment où nous pourrons lire ensemble ses chefs-d'œuvre. Je crois que jamais on n'a eu un génie plus poétique que Byron"; though troubled by the poet's blasé and impious traits, he added that "quand il se livre aux sentiments purs et honorables de l'âme, il est inimitable" (64); two years later, he declared that "celui qui ne sait pas comprendre parfaitement Byron n'est point à l'hauteur du siècle" (65). Such admiration and enthusiasm for writers of the stature of Shakespeare, Cowper, Scott and Byron must surely have affected his work.

Two very different men, Jules Lacroix and Léon de Wailly, engage our attention, though they were highly versatile, as translators, very able translators in fact. Jules Lacroix (1809-1887), who produced some sensational novels (66), translated or adapted three of Shakespeare's plays, "Macbeth", "Lear" and "Julius Caesar". The first made the greatest stir. Vacquerie (67) warmly praised the version of "Macbeth". The "Revue critique des livres nouveaux" of 1840 criticised it in these terms : "In respect of exactitude, M. Lacroix has been completely successful; a comparison with Ducis's translation removes all doubt on the subject and proves the incontestable superiority of his system. He has managed to transplant into the French language all the beauties of the original, and has preserved even its asperities..... But in what concerns elegance and purity of style, M. J. Lacroix, we acknowledge, leaves much to be desired... He overdoes run-on lines... One sees rather too much the work of a scrupulous interpreter that has bound himself

(62) "Lettres à un ami", 13th Sept. 1827.

(63) Mme O. Feuillet: "Souvenirs et correspondances" (1896), M.'s letter of 1862; see 3rd edition, p. 35.

(64) Both these quotations from letter of 24th Sept. 1827 in "L. à un ami".

(65) *Ibidem*, 1st Jan. 1829.

(66) E. g. "Une Grossesse" in 1833, "Le Tentateur" in 1836, "La Vipère", in 1844.

(67) "L'Epoque", 11th Jan. 1847.

down to translating verse for verse ; the sense is sometimes obscure, or at least its clarity disappears under the forced turns of expression..... There are, however, certain situations in which this jolting and uneven, yet energetic language produces an effect far superior to that of the polished and majestic periods beloved of former poets" (68). Jules Janin judged the rendering meritorious on the score of reverence for the text, of fidelity, abnegation and scrupulous care (69). The "*Revue Britannique*", having praised the literalness, justly remarked : "La pensée shakespearienne, contenue dans la régularité de notre alexandrin, ressemble à un beau coursier condamné au manège monotone d'un puits à roues" (70). Of Lacroix's "*Lear*", Paul Foucher (71) observed that despite several wearisome passages, a certain monotony inherent in the action, and despite the absence of certain portions of the English text that one could not possibly transport onto the stage, this translation was most effective and convincing. Concerning "*Le Testament de César*" (1849), the famous actor Edmond Got (72) wrote : "...Grande machine à spectacle, taillée, ou plutôt déchiquetée en plein Shakespeare, par M. Jules Lacroix, et anonymement..., par Alexandre Dumas. Il y a pourtant de belles parties, certes, et de bons vers" ; when played, only the prologue and a song captured applause. Such a threefold accomplishment makes him one of the stoutest henchmen of the Shakespearean cause in its late Romantic developments. Léon de Wailly (1804-1863) served in the same army and, further, helped, to broadcast English literature in other and excellent ways. The comtesse Dash (73) said of him : "J'ai envie de citer un sonnet de lui... qui est d'un genre tout à fait nouveau. C'est une traduction de Shakespeare, mais traduire ainsi, c'est créer". His "*Hamlet*" was described by Auguste Barbier (74) as "une traduction..., en vers français, des plus remarquables". In June 1844 the Odéon received this "glowing and faithful translation" (75), five months later it was in rehearsal (76) ; but this careful rendering, which, doing jus-

(68) "*Revue critique des livres nouveaux*", Nov. 1840.

(69) "*J. des Débats*", 30th Oct. 1848.

(70) "*R. Britannique*", Oct. 1840, "chronique littéraire", p. IV.

(71) "*Les Couliesses du passé*", pp. 135 and 138.

(72) "*Le Journal d'Edmond Got*", I, 254.

(73) "*Mémoires des autres*", IV, ch. 21.

(74) "*Souvenirs personnels*".

(75) "*Revue et Gazette des Théâtres*", 23rd June 1844.

(76) *Ibidem*, 10th Nov. 1844.

tice to the English, respected the French language (77), was apparently never played during the Romantic period. His translation (1843) of the poetry of Robert Burns elicited from Barbier (78) the term "un chef-d'œuvre" : "il est impossible de mieux donner l'idée de cet admirable chantre des choses rustiques et de la nature" ; while the author of "La Curée" also stated that Léon de Wailly's most lasting work would be his "Stella et Vanessa", in which the character of Swift was amazingly reconstructed (79).

The literary critics of this period (and the really competent are numerous) possessed a creditable knowledge for English literature and even of English criticism. Hugh Blair seems to have impressed them : in 1821 Malitourne (80) affirmed that "Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres", well known in France, appealed to the men of taste and brains ; in 1825 we find an anonymous reviewer (81) quoting it with much gusto. Founded in the latter year, the "Revue Britannique", which, it must be remembered, consisted mainly of extracts from English periodicals and books, was in 1834 accused of pursuing a manifest aim, that of naturalising in France "the exotic movement of English criticism" and of impressing native criticism by the contact (82). Moreover, at least three critics owed a very great amount to the literature of Great Britain : Sainte-Beuve, Philarette Chasles and John Lemoinne : the first and the third had English blood in their veins, the second lived for years in the land of Shakespeare. Chasles and Lemoinne, "nourris... des idées et des écrits qu'ont produits les nations du nord, donnent à leurs pensées des formes inattendues, pittoresques et empreintes parfois de ce caractère d'excentricité particulier aux écrivains "humoristes" de la Grand-Bretagne" (83).

In the 'twenties, Amédée Pichot (84) occupied somewhat the position held by Philarette Chasles in the 'thirties and 'forties and by E. D. Forgues in the late 'forties ; these three were acknowledged authorities on English literature. In 1834 Théodore

(77) "R. et Gazette des Théâtres", 9th Jan. 1845.

(78) "Souvenirs personnels".

(79) *Ibidem*.

(80) "Annales de la littérature", 1821, IV, 170 ; in article on this work as translated by Quenot.

(81) "La Quotidienne", 17th Oct. 1825, article on "Marie de Brabant".

(82) "La France littéraire", Nov. 1834, A. E.'s notice on periodicals.

(83) Delécluze: "Souvenirs".

(84) 1796-1877.

Muret (85) summed up his activities thus : "M. Amédée Pichot seems to have identified himself, for preference, with English literature. He began by publishing a translation of Byron, and it is thanks to this elegant and faithful version that these poems became naturalised in France. Later he issued a *Voyage in Great Britain*... If at times too detailed, this work is certainly precious in many parts for the literary research, the explanations and the vividly interesting anecdotes. We undoubtedly owe to his cult for Scott the "*Histoire de Charles Edouard*" (86)... "*Le Perroquet de Walter Scott*" (87)... is English in form and thought, a collection of travel-sketches, legends, biographical and literary stories." In 1825 he brought out the "*Voyage historique et littéraire en Angleterre et en Ecosse*", which, the "*Journal des Débats*" rightly declared, should have been entitled "*Voyage en Angleterre et chez sir Walter Scott*" (88). Gustave Planche (89) accused him of having "jeté au crible de son industrie les lambeaux mutilés des *"revues"* anglaises, pour en composer un prétendu voyage". Another critic (90), who voices a common and mostly correct opinion, wrote that "the only interest that one gets is that of a dictionary, variety: a poor sort of interest, for it consists neither in memories of what one has read nor in hopes of what one awaits. I must however say that, for anyone that doesn't know English literature and especially anyone that doesn't read the London and Edinburgh reviews, M. Pichot's dissertations may be profitably consulted. The other readers will prefer English books and journals. The only changes that he has permitted himself in their judgments, nearly always translated literally, bear the mark of the Romantics." In his "*Excursion dans le pays de Galles et en Irlande (juillet et août 1844)*", which appeared in the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*" in 1844-1845, he frequently cited and quoted from famous English writers (91). Though not a first-class critic, Pichot read much in this literature: "Il s'imprégna tellement, dès ses débuts, de la couleur et de la manière anglaises, qu'on en retrouve la nuance dans ses

(85) "*La Quotidienne*", 13th Dec. 1834.

(86) In 1830.

(87) In 1834.

(88) "*J. des Débats*", 22nd Aug. 1825 ; Cf. the last-mentioned article from "*La Quotidienne*".

(89) "*R. des D. Mondes*", Dec. 1831.

(90) "*R. Encyclopédique*", Oct. 1825, p. 244.

(91) "*R. des D. Mondes*", Sept. 1844 to July 1845, *passim*.

écrits originaux" (92), he has great importance as a pioneer in popularising English literature in France (93).

A much older man, Fauriel (1772-1844) calls for notice only because he illustrates (94) the fact that, in the 'twenties, even the earlier school of critics became interested in the authors of Great Britain. Sainte-Beuve, the greatest French critic, figured prominently during the second and third decades of Romanticism, but, though staunchly observing the theories of the new movement in his poetry and his novels, he severed himself from it in many aspects of his criticism, which was, in both matter and style, much less Romantic than that of Philarète Chasles. As general critic, however, he owed something to English literature; "Il a introduit dans... la critique l'"élément physiologique" et la "manière discursive des Anglais" (95), the former innovation being his own personal contribution to criticism. But he was original and scorned to descend to particular borrowings from English criticism.

Older, more academical, Villemain possessed an enviable knowledge of the literature; in fact Silvestre de Sacy (96) stated: "M. Villemain connaît la littérature anglaise aussi bien que la nôtre"; his scholarship and judgment can nowhere compendiously be seen to better advantage than in his notice (97) on Chateaubriand's "Paradis perdu". And his attention was as thorough as his attitude happy: "Une des originalités de M. Villemain" (98), said Armand de Pontmartin (99), "est d'avoir été le premier à butiner dans les littératures étrangères, d'avoir fait de sa brillante rhétorique le jardin d'acclimatation des beautés de Shakespeare, de Walter Scott, de Byron et de Goethe"; and in 1834 somebody observed that out of thirty-seven lectures on the development of French literature of the latter half of the eighteenth century, five (100) were devoted to English writers, Ri-

(92) "Le Constitutionnel", 13th Nov. 1834.

(93) Besides books already mentioned, note "Essai sur le génie et le caractère de Lord Byron" (1824); "The Living Poets of England", an anthology with essays (1827); "Les Beautés de Lord Byron" (1838); and the "Galerie des personnages de Shakespeare" (1843).

(94) "R. des D. Mondes", 1st and 15th Dec. 1908, 1st Jan. 1909, "Le Roman de Claude Fauriel et de Mary Clarke", see F.'s letters of 15th July 1822 and 7th Aug. 1826.

(95) Auguste Barbier: "Souvenirs personnels".

(96) "R. des D. Mondes", 1838, III, 528.

(97) "J. des Savants", April 1837.

(98) He was born in 1790.

(99) "Souvenirs d'un vieux critique", III.

(100) "Le Constitutionnel", 12th Aug. 1834.

chardson, Hume, Robertson, Gibbon, Macpherson. But for Shakespeare he had a veritable cult, enthusiastic yet critical. Ernest Legouvé brightly recounts how Villemain's lecture on Voltaire's "Mort de César" as compared with Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar", delivered at the Sorbonne in the late 'twenties, ended in triumph for the English dramatist and the French lecturer (101). A literary die-hard regretted, very politely, that Villemain should speak so glowingly about Shakespeare (102). In 1838 appeared, in a collection of Shakespeare's works, his "Essai biographique et littéraire", which showed how careful had been his research; a contemporary (103) remarked that among those who contributed to propagate and educate the admiration for the English poet, Villemain could justly claim a prominent place; this essay was later enlarged and retouched (104), and in 1843 he was described (105) as very well informed on English literature and as the author of the most judicious study yet written on Shakespeare. He produced some very energetic criticism on Milton (106), and all the literary part of the Essay on the poet (included in the "Discours et mélanges littéraires", 1823) was most interesting and conspicuously just and keen (107). Before 1826, he imitated (108) Hume in criticism and Scott in fiction. In "Lascaris, ou les Grecs du vi^e siècle" he owed something to both Scott and Byron; the latter affected the style (109). That the most prominent Sorbonne literary critic of the whole Romantic period should have paid so much attention to English writers constitutes a valuable commentary on the attraction exercised on the educated classes.

Villemain has retained esteem, Charles Magnin (110) has been unjustly forgotten. He wrote, for "Le Globe", excellent articles on the English company of 1827-1828 and on its significance to French literature (111), and he combined first-class criticism with appreciation of British qualities; as Paul Meurice

(101) E. Legouvé: "Soixante ans de souvenirs", I, 167-172.

(102) "R. des D. Mondes", 1838, III, 528; Silvestre de Sacy.

(103) "Le National", 2nd Nov. 1838.

(104) "J. des Savants", Dec. 1843, Patin's article on Ponsard's "Lucrèce".

(105) "Le Siècle", 20th Feb. 1843.

(106) "J. des Débats", 1st Oct. 1836, article by Cs.

(107) "R. Encyclopédique", May 1824, p. 360, article by L. Thiessé.

(108) "Le Globe", 18th March 1826, article by O.

(109) "La France littéraire", Sept. 1835, article by Esquiros on Villemain.

(110) Many of his articles were in 1843 published in 2 voll. as "Causeries et Méditations historiques et littéraires".

(111) Cf. "R. des D. Mondes", 1843, IV, 149, Sainte-Beuve's notice on Magnin.

(112) tells us : "Les représentations de Shakespeare... furent... pour ce brillant volontaire l'occasion de chaudes et vaillantes escarmouches. Il pourfendait les vieilles unités comme Macready, Polonius, et s'agenouillait devant la jeune poésie comme Roméo devant Miss Smithson"; indeed, he defended the literary revolution with more fervour than any other capable critic of that time (113). The rather Classical Saint-Marc Girardin (1801-1873) also liked English literature. He admired Shakespeare (114); in his essay, "Du Suicide dans le roman et au théâtre", he noted at length the treatment of suicide in the plays of that dramatist, with special reference to "Hamlet", and concluded that Shakespeare contains the principle and the source of suicide-literature in France; (115) in the prize speech crowned by the Academy in 1828, he wove his final paragraph around Hamlet's meditation on Yorick's skull (116). Richardson's "Pamela" stirred him profoundly (117) and Scott's novels interested him (118), while to enforce his theory of dramatic art he availed himself of Shakespeare and Richardson (119).

With the best qualities of Magnin and Saint-Marc Girardin, Charles de Rémusat, while delighting in the general literature, specialised in English philosophy. He enjoyed Shakespeare (120); was very fond of Clarendon and, even more, Hume (121); as a youth he imitated Scott, as we learn from a letter (122) in which Mme de Rémusat mentioned to her husband that Charles had written a novel, "son héros est Sidney, son théâtre la révolution d'Angleterre, les guerres civiles, et ses acteurs Charles 1^{er}, Cromwell, etc.", and he certainly took keen pleasure in the *Waverley* novels (123); and "un des premiers il sut, en France, le nom de lord Byron" (124). The solid Lermnier, Vinet and Nettement had no great interest in English literature, but Cuvil-

(112) "L'Epoque", 15th Feb. 1846.

(113) *Ibidem*.

(114) S.-M.-G.; "Souvenirs de voyages et d'études", préface to voll. II.

(115) "R. de Paris", Oct. 1843.

(116) "Annales de la littérature", 1828, XXXII, 312.

(117) "R. de Paris", Oct. 1843, essay cited.

(118) "Souvenirs de voyages et d'études", in article on "Traditions celtiques".

(119) "L'Illustration", 10th Feb. 1844.

(120) "Correspondance de M. de Rémusat" at 14th Feb. 1820.

(121) *Ibidem*, letters of 1816.

(122) *Ibid.*, 16th April 1817.

(123) *Ib.*, 24th Nov. 1817.

(124) L. Véron: "Nouveaux mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris", 1866.

lier-Fleury, erudite and grave, was conversant with the subject, from which he drew apt illustrations and agreeable instruction (125).

The effervescent Jules Janin was evidently attracted to this literature, to which he often referred. He liked the country and the people very much indeed (126) : he had good reason, for he met with a warm welcome. In 1856 he wished to publish his article "L'Interné" (127) in the "Illustrated London News", but political reasons prevented accession to the request. Five years later he was charged with the correction of Desfontaines's translation of "Gulliver's Travels" (128), so that he must have been a recognised authority on English. He knew his Shakespeare (129), alluded cursorily to Johnson (130), thought highly of Anne Radcliffe (131), "ce sublime auteur, si passionné et si tragique", enthusiastically reviewed "The Monk" (132). Scott he eulogised in a delightful pastiche of Cicero (133) : "Walter Scott, notre beau rêve de printemps, notre ombrage de l'été, notre repos d'automne, nos longues soirées de l'hiver..." The introduction to his recast of "Clarissa Harlowe" indicated his preparatory studies, and it spurred Amédée Achard (134) to the following criticism : "Il a fouillé la littérature anglaise jusqu'aux entrailles ; il s'est nourri du lait et du miel de Pope et de Dryden, de Shakespeare et de Fielding, de Swift et de Goldsmith ; il a tout vu, tout comparé". He translated Sterne's "Sentimental Journey", and Philarète Chasles (135) commented thus : "Janin and Sterne have just contracted a legal pact, despite their natural kinship..... Read this facile, supple translation, distinguished also by delicacy and studious tact... It isn't simply the laughing, gay and luminous phrase that we admire ; above all it is the complete comprehension of Sterne". In his novel, "L'Ane

(125) See e. g. "Correspondance du duc d'Aumale et de Cuvillier-Fleury" at 22-26th April 1843, 12th March 1844, 19th Sept. 1857, 6th Sept. 1859 ; and C. F.'s "Journal" at 13th and 18th Dec. 1828, 20th Jan. and 23rd, 24th June, and 4th July and 30th Aug. 1829, 21st April 1830, 14th March 1834, 10th July 1842, 22nd April 1843, and 18th July 1844.

(126) Jules Janin: "Correspondance" at 3rd May and 23rd Dec. 1851.

(127) See letters of 1856; "the Interned" was Edgar Quinet.

(128) "Correspondance", 27th Jan. 1861.

(129) "J. des Débats", 23rd Jan. 1832, cpn. between Sh. and Molière.

(130) "Correspondance", 3rd May 1851, to Prosper Ménière.

(131) "J. des Débats", 31st May 1831.

(132) *Ibidem*, *ibid*.

(133) *Ibid.*, 12th Nov. 1832.

(134) "L'Epoque", 13th April 1846.

(135) "J. des Débats", 8th June 1841.

mort et la femme guillotinée" (1829) he hit a medium between Sterne and Diderot (136), while in "La Confession" (1830), "a magic-lantern show of portraits, a gallery of pictures, a firework display of epigrams and sallies, a nightmare of reason, a gem of style", he definitely imitated the English novelist (137). In "Un Cœur pour deux amours", another novel (1837), the characters of the two sisters exactly reproduced Minna and Brenda of Scott's "Pirate". 1846 saw the abridgement and adaptation of "Clarissa", which received a good press even at times in England (138). After searching analysis, Janin cut away the prolix and redundant passages, hurried the course of the story, and actually inserted quotations from the poets and dramatists, "ce qui lui semblait propre à rehausser les figures historiques de cette fable sublime". It was the measured judgment of A. Achard (139) that the original had lost none of its beauty, none of its grace, none of its innocence. But many critics took up arms against this summary treatment of a masterpiece: one paper (140) caustically referred to the "arrangement" operated by "l'éleveur français de cette génisse anglaise"; Auguste Vacquerie (141) said that "he profited by a moment when Richardson was sleeping peacefully in a library, slipped noiselessly towards the unfortunate book, delicately opened the binding, and, suddenly, with a flick of the scissors, removed the conclusion",— and Vacquerie thought that the story had become ridiculous; the "Gazette des Théâtres" broke out thus: "M. Jules Janin, qu'avez-vous fait de Richardson?... quoi, ni la mort ni le renom ne vous arrêtent?... Vous n'avez pas eu honte de vous tailler des lambeaux d'invention de votre taille dans les pages de son livre... Je suis son traducteur, vous vous êtes écrié, tandis que vous n'êtes qu'un traître" (142). Of course, apart from the aesthetic, there is a practical consideration; the public, which had mostly given up reading the original story, rushed the version by Janin, who thereby popularised Richardson (143). In "Trim le journaliste" and "Le Gâteau des Rois" (1847), he imitated Dickens

(136) "Le Mercure de France au XIX^e siècle", Sept. 1831.

(137) *Ibidem*, early 1830, is a "chronique littéraire".

(138) "Correspondance", 13th Oct. 1846.

(139) "L'Epoque", 13th April 1846; hence comes the quotation just before.

(140) "L'Univers", 8th July 1846.

(141) "L'Événement", 9th Oct. 1848.

(142) "Revue et Gazette des Théâtres", 9th Aug. 1846.

(143) Cf. "La Revue Nouvelle", Aug. 1846, in the "chronique théâtrale".

(144); in several works he copied Byron (145). Rather after our period, he eulogistically reviewed F. V. Hugo's translation of Shakespeare and so won the praise of the father (146). The sparkling critic, then, not only manifested his knowledge of the literature in his articles but drew on it freely for his novels.

Two years younger than Janin, Désiré Nisard occupied a difficult position during the Romantic period: "Classique hérétique aux yeux des idolâtres de la tradition, j'étais, pour les idolâtres de l'école romantique, une sorte de faux frère" (147). He knew English well and in 1830 translated Wm. Young's "Portugal under Don Miguel" (148); his attitude was very tolerant: "My little share of national pride has not revolted, I admit, at seeing Frenchmen admiring and studying Shakespeare as well as Racine, Byron as much as Chateaubriand" (149). He loved Shakespeare, not for exoticism and fantastic imagery, but for the power and the variety of his work (150), for the "pensée créatrice" (151). Though he appreciated, Nisard didn't imitate English writing; Gustave Planche did both. To the "Revue des Deux Mondes" he contributed a number of articles on English literature; Shakespeare, appealing to him too, obtained this suffrage: "The divine and immortal aspects of "Othello", "Hamlet", "Lear" and the admirable Histories, are the human analysis and the constant predominance of the enduring sentiments" (152). It has been shown by Alfred Michiels (153) that, in the accounts of English authors, Planche used Scott's criticisms, and that, in the articles on Fielding, Maturin, Mackintosh, he plagiarised shamelessly.

Philarète Chasles (1798-1873), who was not always too scrupulous (though his sins related to German, not English literature), stood out in our period as the greatest authority on British writers. As a boy he went to England, and there he stayed eight years; having learnt something about the language be-

(144) "R. Britannique", Jan. 1847, p. 255; the former story appeared in the "J. des Débats".

(145) "L'Univers", 8th July 1846.

(146) Clément-Janin: "Victor Hugo en exil. Documents inédits", 1922, V. H.'s letter of 6th March and F. V. H.'s of Nov. 1859.

(147) D. Nisard: "Souvenirs et notes biographiques"

(148) "Le Globe", 7th April 1830.

(149) "J. des Débats", 6th Jan. 1830.

(150) "Souvenirs et notes", ch. VI.

(151) *Ibidem*, ch. I.

(152) "R. des D. Mondes", 1st Dec. 1834.

(153) "La France littéraire", mid-1840, article on Planche.

fore he left France, he made excellent use of the time he spent on the spoken and written tongue. He came to understand the moral and intellectual state of the country and was greatly influenced by the life he saw there (154). As a boy, he underwent especially the influence of Richardson, Ossian, Shakespeare and Byron; moreover, "en allant passer dès quinze ans ma jeunesse au nord, je perdis la rhétorique française... ; je lus Bacon, Shakespeare, la Bible, Byron" (155). A pleasant impression of his knowledge of English literature may be gained from the "Mémoires" (156). For the author of "Hamlet" he had a profound admiration, based on close study (157): in a fragment entitled "Mœurs dramatiques du xvi^e siècle", he related, with remarkable talent (158), how a Shakespearean play was performed in 1613. About 1836, he and O'Sullivan edited Shakespeare in French, the former supplying one or two translations and many commentaries (159); years later he projected a "Cléopâtre" and, as Hostein puts it (160), sketched an "improvisation, où, à l'imitation de Shakespeare et avec une verve éclatante, il fit passer sous mes yeux cette histoire". In 1834 a writer for the "Revue de Paris" declared that Chasles was the man best fitted to translate the dramatist and flatteringly urged him to undertake the work (161): perhaps as a result, two years after, "the man for the job" rendered "Romeo and Juliet" into French and received the valuable praise of Poujoulat (162), who suggested that he had may be departed a little too freely from the text. His devotion to Shakespeare certainly influenced his thought and style, as somebody (163) noted early in his career: "M. Philarète Chasles has taken possession of the literatures of England and Germany, and his observations reveal an able, profound critic. The study that he has made of Shakespeare and Richter has given him an element of English and German characteristics that sheds over his style an indefinable picturesqueness and originality". When

(154) Ph. Chasles: "Mémoires", section on "Séjour en Angleterre".

(155) *Ibidem*.

(156) Chapters "Séjour en Angleterre", "La Société en 1817", and "Souvenirs des lacs".

(157) "Journal d'Eugène Delacroix", at 25th March 1855.

(158) "Bulletin littéraire et scientifique", May-June 1833.

(159) "Le Siècle", 11th Dec. 1836.

(160) Hippolyte Hostein: "Historiettes et souvenirs d'un homme de théâtre" (1878), ch. I, sec. on Chasles

(161) "R. de Paris", July 1834, 3rd "chronique de Paris" for the month.

(162) "La Quotidienne", 14th Aug. 1836.

(163) *Ibidem*, 16th Oct. 1833.

in England, he had been attracted towards "les excentricités à la mode : Bentham, Coleridge, Southey, Ugo Foscolo, Wordsworth ; tous ceux dont on parlait, et que j'entendais dénigrer, ce qui me prouvait leur valeur" (164) ; there too, seated by the edge of a lake, he would let himself, delighted and moved to fresh ardour of sentiment, be carried away by the sovereign magic of Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth (165), on all of whom he later wrote some glowing and enchanting criticism (166). In 1835 he penned a just, sane article on Cowper (167), from whom (he said) sprang the revolution in English literature ; eight years earlier, he finished translating the poetry of Robert Burus (168), but apparently he never published his work. In the late 'forties he delivered lectures on favourite British writers: Byron (mostly) and Walter Scott were treated eloquently (169) in a series, while Shakespeare inspired him with enthusiasm when he lectured at the Sorbonne and, to his agreeable surprise, charmed his audience (170). Before we pass to English influence on his criticism, we should spend a moment on his poetry, for Chasles relates that, when he returned from England about 1820, he knew Shakespeare and Byron almost by heart, and this familiarity, coupled with a rapidly increasing acquaintance with Goethe, made him wonder how it were possible for people to accept as poetry the verses that had been composed in France in recent years (171). In 1824 he issued "*La Fiancée de Benarès*", a "nouvelle.... entremêlée de chants", after the fashion and under the impulsion of Moore's "*Lalla Rookh*" (172). Even earlier, he had begun to make his mark as a critic, publishing, in the "*Revue encyclopédique*" of 1821, an essay on English poetry that incurred (173) the statement that "on doit... s'affliger de voir ce très jeune écrivain se lancer dans cette carrière im-

(164) Chasles: "Mémoires".

(165) *Ibidem*.

(166) We may here note Chasles's main works on English literature: "*Le XVIII^e siècle en Angleterre*", 2 series, 1846; "*Etudes sur la littérature et les mœurs en Angleterre au XIX^e siècle*", 1850 ; "*Etudes sur William Shakespeare, Marie Stuart et l'Arétin*", 1852 ; and "*L'Angleterre littéraire*", posthumous.

(167) "R. des D. Mondes", Feb. 1835.

(168) "R. Britannique", Sept. 1827, p. 30.

(169) "R. indépendante", May 1846.

(170) "Echo de la littérature", 1844 ; among the plays discussed were "The Merchant of Venice" and "Troilus and Cressida".

(171) "Mémoires".

(172) "La Quotidienne", 29th Dec. 1924, in "Etrennes".

praticable de romantisme" and a reproof for his passionate admiration for Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton. He possessed a curiously recondite knowledge of English literature, especially on its humorous and eccentric side (174); the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (175) of the 'forties contained numerous excellent articles of his on this subject. In 1848 Ch. de Mazade (176) judged him in these words: "As critic, M. Philarète Chasles has assimilated many English qualities,—a free and discursive humour, that complex liking for both analysis and poetry by which one might recognise an essayist of London or Edinburgh, that aptitude for delving deep into a subject, of fertilising a datum, of extracting from a book all its tastiest parts, which forms the new and perfect art of the reviewer. Such is the force of this first influence, that it penetrates even the style of M. Chasles, who frequently uses English turns of expression and phrase". Twenty years later, Sainte-Beuve wrote to him (177). "Vous êtes un critique apparu en France vers 1826, lequel n'émanait d'aucune école française, d'aucune routine domestique, mais qui sortait tout droit du commerce de Shakespeare avec des mots à la Johnson... Vous étiez d'avant et d'après le romantisme, l'enjambant avec vos idées et votre lorgnon d'outre-Manche et d'outre-Rhin". Etienne Delécluze (178) thought him almost a humorist of the race of Sterne and Swift, and said that by contracting in England a taste for adventurous exploration and encyclopaedic research into literature, Chasles endowed his writings with that so rare a quality—genuine information to the readers. Though much more a Romantic than a Classic, he could justly be declared to hold himself between the two camps; he resolved to popularise in France the foreign literatures, of which one spoke ignorantly; in this way he rendered a considerable service to the letters of his country, for he, more than any other, revealed the works of modern Britain and modern Germany to his compatriots (179).

Better scholar, J. J. Ampère was deeply impressed with

(173) In "Le Miroir", 4th April 1821.

(174) "R. des D. Mondes", 1st June 1844, article of 38 pages on "Les Pseudonymes anglais au xviii^e siècle".

(175) E. g. 15th Aug. 1844.

(176) "R. des D. M.", 15th Aug. 1848, p. 536.

(177) Chasles: "Mémoires", letter of 27th Aug. 1867.

(178) "Souvenirs".

(179) Maxime du Camp: "Souvenirs littéraires", near end; cf. article by A. de Malarce in "R. hebdomadaire", April 1905.

England. After his trip there in 1849, he wrote (180) : "What a voyage and what a country'. The greatest marvels of art and science at the British Museum, the most ravishing scenes of Nature in Scotland, the wonders of industry reaching the sublime.... And this grand society producing or preserving all that!" He attained his majority and a familiarity with English (181) at the same time (1820), and set about studying the literature; his 1830 lecture, "De l'Histoire de la Poésie", proved his knowledge (182). His respect for British writers bordered on reverence, as we see from his statement to N. W. Senior : "If I were forced to select a single literature and to read nothing else, I would take the English. In... poetry, you beat us hollow. We are great only in the drama, and even there you are perhaps our superiors. We have no short poems comparable with the "Allegro" or the "Penseroso ", or with the "Country Churchyard". (183) J. J. Ampère inherited from his father the spirit of scientific research and developed his father's modest love for the beautiful : the desire of reading all the great foreign poets in the original (184) caused him to learn English, Italian, the various German dialects, and he translated several poems from Byron and Ossian. He appreciated Shakespeare (185) aesthetically as well as intellectually, was delighted by Ossian (186), fascinated by Lord Byron : "I've read and reread "Manfred", said he in 1820; "never, never has a work crushed me like that; it has made me ill" (187); a few years later, "When I've read anything by or on Byron, my soul always remains disturbed" (188). For Scott (189) he felt admiration, admiration as much for his technique as for his colour.

Hippolyte Lucas, the leading critic on "Le Siècle" in the 'forties, seems to have had a good knowledge of the English language and to have been well-informed on the literature (190). He

(180) Barante: "Souvenirs", VIII, J. J. A.'s letter to B., 30th Sept. 1849.

(181) "A. M. et J. J. Ampère, correspondance et souvenirs", J. J. A. to Bastide, Jan. 1820.

(182) "Le Globe", 4th April 1830.

(183) "Correspondance and Conversations of Alexis de Tocqueville with Nassau William Senior", London, 1872.

(184) "Le Correspondant", end of 1848, H. de la Villemarque's notice on J. J. Ampère.

(185) "A. M. et J. J. Ampère, Correspondance", letter of 18th Nov. 1824.

(186) *Ibidem*, Jan. 1820.

(187) *Ibid.*, 20th May 1820.

(188) *Ib.*, 19th Dec. 1824 to Mme Récamier.

(189) *Ib.*, at 22nd Dec. 1824.

(190) See passim his "Souvenirs littéraires".

helped Emile Deschamps with the scenic arrangement (191) of "Macbeth", and apparently imitated "Measure for Measure" in one of his plays (192). In 1842 he contributed to "L'Artiste" an article on Cowley, with the translation of several poems (193). In his feuilletons, Lucas, who wrote some effective dramas, mostly drawing on the Spanish, made many pleasant remarks on English literature (194); Shakespeare was his favourite (195). Chaudesaigues, noted for his attack on Alfred de Musset's originality, showed, in his able articles for the leading "Revue", very creditable knowledge and reasonable admiration; Alfred Michiels (196), who in 1842 made a stir with his "Histoire des idées littéraires en France au XIX^e siècle", was well equipped on this subject (197); Hippolyte Fortoul (198) might easily have become one of the three or four best critics of the Romantic period if, instead of entering the Government service, he had kept to literature, for his notices and essays in the "Revue encyclopédique" (199) were extremely good—and most appreciative of the literature across the Channel. Blaze de Bury (200), art and musical as well as literary critic, profoundly admired Shakespeare, Richardson, Scott. E. D. Forgues, who as early as April 1837 wrote a sympathetic article on Coleridge in the "Revue de Paris", began, as "Old Nick", writing for "Le National" in 1841, and until the end of 1844 he produced nearly all the feuilletons and book-notices that deal with or touch on English literature, which he knew very well indeed, appreciated highly, and judged with great and most convincing ability. He apparently was the "Dick Popeson" who in 1842-1844 contributed to the "Revue Britannique" the "chroniques littéraires", and these reappeared, sometimes as by "D. P.", in 1846-1847. Prominent in the late

(191) L. Séché: "Alfred de Vigny" (2nd ed.) I, 82, E. D.'s letter of 15th Oct. 1848.

(192) *Ibidem*, I, 84, 86 (26th Dec. 1848, early 1849).

(193) "L'Artiste", 25th Dec. 1842.

(194) See *passim* "Le Siècle", 1838-1847.

(195) "R. du progrès", Feb. 1839, article "Le Drame en France".

(196) For gen. account (though too adverse) see "La Quinzaine", 16th May 1903, G. Michaut's "Sainte-Beuve et Michiels".

(197) See *passim* "La France littéraire", 1840-1842; "R. indépendante", latter part of 1842, article "Souvenirs d'Angleterre".

(198) See "La Nouvelle Revue", 1st and 15th Dec. 1922, for P. Raphaël's excellent article, "Fortoul, journaliste républicain et critique littéraire".

(199) E. g. April-May 1833, "bulletin dramatique"; July 1833, "De l'art actuel", "Souvenirs romantiques" in mid-1834.

(200) See *passim* "Mes Etudes et mes souvenirs".

'forties, Meurice and Vacquerie (201) brought out some good criticism, which often indicated enthusiasm for Shakespeare and more than tolerance for other writers.

The French critics, therefore, possessed a laudable familiarity with English literature, and a very large proportion admired it. They represent an important class, because, as disseminators, they signally helped to popularise the writers of Great Britain; they reached all sections of the community, who slowly but surely became impressed with the constant repetition of certain names and the evident respect for the literature in mass.

In conclusion, we must very briefly note the English influence on the French press (202) during the Romantic period. The "Lycée français (1819-1820) was described by Stendhal (203) as "one of those ephemeral journals which the success of the "Edinburgh Review" had created in Paris". The fame of the British reviews ran high; in 1828 Victor Hugo (204) wrote to Pavié : "Il n'y a que les hauts articles des "Reviews" anglaises qui soient dignes d'être lus après les vôtres". A year later, Nodier tells us that a group of able writers had set up "La Revue de Paris" (205) after the fashion of the "Edinburgh Review". The "Gazette littéraire", which commenced late in 1829, had plan and form similar to those of English weekly reviews, especially the "London Literary Gazette"; this was a kind of periodical new to France (206). In the prospectus (207) of "L'Europe littéraire" (1833-1834), we find the following passage, which throws much light on the French attitude towards English periodicals in the early 'thirties : "The "Europe littéraire" will ordinarily open its columns with a critical article on a work published at home or abroad. This article will always contain, according to the original text, an exact analysis of the book and a few frag-

(201) Their critical work has already been mentioned in the chapter on the Drama.

(202) See *passim* (for gen. matter) H. Avenel: "Histoire de la presse française depuis 1789", 1900; for earlier part of our period, Ch.-M. Desgranges: "Le Romantisme et la Critique, la presse littéraire sous la restauration", 1907.

(203) "Souvenirs d'égotisme".

(204) V. Hugo: "Correspondance", I, at 23rd Jan. 1828.

(205) "Lettres à Lamartine", at 27th March 1829. It was in this year that Le-sourd's article on the English press appeared.

(206) For these remarks, see the "J. des Débats", 1st Jan. 1830. The "Gazette littéraire", of which no copy exists at the Nationale, didn't last more than a couple of years.

(207) Issued 27th Oct. 1832.

ments translated..... The reviews and magazines of England, as well as the literary journals of Germany, will often furnish us with important material". An amusing example (208) of the vogue of English periodicals is this : in 1834 the "Revue Britannique" translated some articles from an English review, which had taken them from the "Revue des Deux-Mondes". In 1836, Louis Desnoyers (209) wrote : "All the civilised nations now possess periodicals.....Those published in England are almost the only ones from which the French press has hitherto thought of borrowing. The success obtained by the "Revue Britannique" by this practice, proves that such importation might be profitably extended to other countries". Several years after, Edgard Quinet (210) said to Buloz concerning the "Revue des Deux-Mondes" : "We might have had in France an "Edinburgh Review"! Why didn't you wish it?" In 1842 "The Illustrated London News" was founded: the next year appeared an imitation (211), the well-known "L'Illustration", which frankly acknowledged the debt (212). The good reputation (213) of English periodicals continued well after 1848.

(208) "R. des D. Mondes", April 1834, "Deux mots à la Revue Britannique".

(209) "Le Siècle", specimen (1st) no., June 1836.

(210) J. Marsan: "La Bataille romantique", Quinet's letter of 18th March 1839.

(211) See "La France littéraire", April 1843.

(212) See the Prospectus of "L'Illustration".

(213) E. g. Ep. Viguier: "Fragments et correspondance" (1875), letter of 5th June 1854.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

As elements of Romanticism continued in new writers and lingered strong in the older men (Hugo, Gautier, Dumas), so realism crept in with various authors in the 'forties. The transition may be illustrated in three writers, Baudelaire in poetry, Feuillet (1) in the drama, Flaubert in the Novel.

Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) entered the field with the "Salon de 1845"; about that time he became known among his friends as a poet of a new kind, but he didn't issue the "Fleurs du mal" until 1857. Before plunging into Poe's work, he spoke frequently of Lewis and Maturin (2), who paved the way for the "Tales"; he liked the mysterious, the satanic, the macabre in English and American literature : to him the most perfect type of virile beauty was Milton's Satan (3); de Maistre and Edgar Poe taught him to reason (4). It is very probable that Baudelaire was influenced by Barbey d'Aurevilly's conception of Byron and fondness for the picturesque and bitter heroes of that poet, for he ranked Englishman very high (5). De Quincey he considered magnificent (6); another instance of orientation by the picturesque bizarre. In Poe (7), whom as gentleman he strove to imitate, "Baudelaire s'incarna pendant de longues années". The "Fleurs du mal" reflected a further influence, which Baudelaire-lovers have missed: that of the gloomy scenes in "Hamlet", pointed out by no less a person than Alfred de Vigny (8).

(1) A Sorbonne thesis on Feuillet as dramatist will be appearing in 1924.

(2) Champfleury: "Souvenirs et portraits de jeunesse".

(3) "Journaux intimes par Charles Baudelaire", (1910-1920), p. 20 (i. e. in "Fusées").

(4) *Ibidem*, p. 104 (i. e. in "Mon Cœur mis à nu").

(5) "Revue de Paris", 15th Aug. 1917, "Lettres inédites de Charles Baudelaire", letter of 9th July 1857.

(6) *Ibidem*, *ibid.*

(7) Champfleury: "Souvenirs et portraits".

(8) "Correspondance", at 27th Jan. 1862.

Octave Feuillet, as respectable as Baudelaire was bohemian, began as a dramatist; he had published four plays by the end of 1848. There too the realistic note was evident, but external evidence shows no English influence and very little reading in British literature (9). Flaubert (10), however, was well acquainted and much impressed with that literature. At college he "vivait dans la familiarité de Byron et de Shakespeare, que sa connaissance de la langue anglaise lui permettait de lire dans l'original" (11). In 1856 he twice (12) stated: "Je fais toujours de l'anglais". Moreover, he regarded English thought with respect: "J'ai lu dans le *"Fortnightly Review"* un article...", he wrote many years later (13); "c'est du Nord aujourd'hui que nous vient la lumière". He revered Shakespeare: as a young man he said that Homer and the English dramatist contained everything, the other poets, even the greatest, seeming little by comparison (14). His "Correspondance" offers some twenty noteworthy references to Shakespeare, and we may quote this (15). "Quand je lis Shakespeare, je deviens plus grand, plus intelligent et plus pur..... On n'est plus homme, on est *œil*, des horizons nouveaux surgissent, des perspectives se prolongent à l'infini". As late as 1875 he reread him from beginning to end; "cela vous retrempe et vous remet de l'air dans les poumons comme si on était sur une haute montagne" (16). When young, he admired Byron (17) immensely, but later he subordinated him to Shakespeare. Such writers did much to maintain in Flaubert his lyricism, his Romanticism, which transpires in even his most realistic work.

English influence on the transition affected poetry, drama, the novel, just those genres which had most reflected it during our period. The descending order of Romantic genres modified by English writers is this: the drama, poetry, the novel, and, considerably lower, history and criticism. All those classes

(9) We know that he took much pleasure in Scott (see Mme O. Feuillet: "Quelques années de ma vie", 1894, F.'s letter of 1868 to his wife).

(10) Born in 1819; Feuillet was born two years later.

(11) Maxime du Camp: "Souvenirs littéraires".

(12) Flaubert: "Correspondance", at 1st and 26th Sept. 1856.

(13) *Ibidem*, 1st Sept. 1878.

(14) Du Camp, op. cit., vol. I, "Pièces justificatives", F.'s letter of 1844.

(15) "Correspondance", 27th Sept. 1846.

(16) "Correspondance entre Georges Sand et Flaubert", F.'s letter of 11th Dec. 1875.

(17) "Correspondance de Flaubert", 13th Dec. 1838; Contrast with letter of 1852.

were powerfully influenced, but varied much in the number of works concerned; it must not be imagined that the quantitative reaction was determined by the nature of the genre, for poetry compares very favourably, the drama more than favourably, with the novel; notwithstanding the obvious fact that there were more novels than dramas or books of poetry. Of course, between history and criticism the case is different, for though more notable critics than historians were appreciably influenced by English literature, yet the general impact on criticism was less forcible, less vivid than that on history. Again, both these sides of literature responded much less than poetry, drama and the novel to the English appeal, simply because the former represent fact, the latter fiction : an emotional and aesthetic sway usually surpasses an intellectual domination in intensity.

All in all, the English influence on French Romanticism was exceedingly powerful, stretching far and going deep. But it did not by any means constitute the sole cause of the movement, not did it form its most essential part : national first, Romanticism was cosmopolitan afterwards. Modified and enriched by this external influence, it was French in the primary material; in other words, the "heredity" was necessarily French, but much of the "environment" was English. Every prominent, and many a minor imaginative writer owed something, while, of historians and critics, a large proportion were indebted to British literature : Romanticism, in mass, received inspiration of atmosphere and subject, emotion and form, at the hands thereof, and gave it expression in all sorts of ways and in all degrees of imitation and adaptation. The most significant thing is that the study of English literature not only made for general liberty (18), but suggested new departments in all the most important genres : Shakespearean plays, Byronic poetry, historical novels, picturesque history. As a force of impulsion, then, English literature very vitally affected French Romanticism.

(18) In the "Revue bleue" of 19th August 1882 (2nd semester, p. 241), R. Rosières states that "L'Angleterre, par l'exemple de sa littérature, nous a délivrés du servilisme envers nos grands écrivains, comme, par l'exemple de sa constitution, elle nous a délivrés du servilisme envers nos rois". But, in the same paragraph, Rosières greatly underestimates the influence of English literature on French Romanticism, with which he is less familiar than with the 18th Century question.

APPENDIX A.

TRANSLATIONS FROM ENGLISH IN "LE PANORAMA LITTÉRAIRE".

This review, edited by Edouard Mennechet, ran from July 1833 to September 1834. In 1833 it contained sixteen translations in this order : — Extract from English novel; from an American prose-writer; Scott's dramatic sketch, "La Croix de Mac-Duff"; true story from "The Metropolitan"; article from "The Quarterly Review; literary article from "Edinburgh Review"; passage from Bulwer-Lytton's "England and the English"; a tale by Mrs. Gore; passage from one of Cooper's novels; article from "The New Monthly Review"; (Mme L. Swanton-Belloc's) "Le Vieux Pâtre" from James Hogg; extract from Basil Hall's Voyages; a "fragment philosophique" by Godwin (son of the famous Godwin); critical article by H. H. Wilson (of the University of Oxford); a "skit" from "The Metropolitan Magazine"; "Conversations de Lady Blessington avec Lord Byron" from "The New Monthly"; and extract from the Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald, from "Fraser's Magazine". In 1834, five : — A character-sketch from "The Metropolitan" ; article on contemporary English literature from "The New Monthly" ; article on London, from same; a short story by J. M. Wilson; article on Palermo from "The Metropolitan".

N. B. — In the latter year, German took the precedence over English literature in this review

APPENDIX B.

TRANSLATIONS AND IMITATIONS FROM ENGLISH POETRY IN "LA REVUE POÉTIQUE".

In this review, which lasted only for 1835, we find the following sixteen verse and prose translations : — Wordsworth's "Vieux Pauvre de Cumberland", by B.; Coleridge's "Jardin de Boccace"; "Fragment" from Moore's "Lalla Rookh", by B.; Crabbe's "Edouard Shore" into prose by B.; Campbell's "Dernier Homme" by Albert Montémont; Byron's "Sennacherib" by A. Desportes; Hogg's "Enfant Ménestrel"; John Wilson's "A un Enfant endormi", by C. C.; Maturin's "Ovation", by B.; Scott's "Nuit de Décembre" by Antony Béraud; "Fragments" from "Macbeth", by Jules Lacroix; "Plaintes de lady Bothwell" from Percy's "Ballads"; part of King James the First's "King's quair"; Miss Landon's "Fragment de Légende" and "A Celui qu'on oublie"; Miss L. G.'s "L'Apprenti".

BIBLIOGRAPHY (1)

A. Bibliography of Memoirs and Correspondences.

B. Bibliography of such articles as, contained in periodicals later than 1848 and not figuring in any of the books mentioned in section A, give direct evidence in the shape of unedited letters or unedited biographical, or autobiographical, documents.

C. Bibliography of periodicals.

A. Memoirs, recollections, and Correspondences.

I. Those written by or dealing especially with individual Romantics. (This sub-section consists of letters, autobiographies and memoirs wholly or partly autobiographical ; memoirs on individual Romantics written by contemporaries ; and such studies as contain unedited letters or important unedited biographical details.)

II. Those entirely or mainly concerning the stage.

III. Those dealing with or touching on aspects of Romanticism other than that of the stage ; and those which, concerning not one special Romantic but various Romantic writers, have been written by people mainly or wholly outside the movement.

For all three sub-sections, the grouping is primarily alphabetical, secondarily chronological ; in sub-section I, the order is alphabetical according to the Romantics treated, while in II and III, the books are listed according to their authors.

B. Periodical-articles.

I. Those concerning the Romantics themselves.

(These articles are arranged in the alphabetical order of the Romantics concerned.)

II. Those that deal rather with aspects of Romanticism than with individual Romantic writers. (These articles come in the chronological order of their appearance.)

C. Periodicals of 1820-1848 (with several of earlier date).

(1) It is hardly necessary to state that for the "years of approach" (1800-1819), the bibliography, though adequate perhaps, is only a "note" towards a complete list.

N. B. — It must be borne in mind that this bibliography contains only such material as is strictly relevant according to the terms of the subject and within the limits implied in the note on Delimitation of sources, included in the Preface.

In Bibliography A, for all three sub-sections, I have given in square brackets such works as, dealing noteworthy with Romantics, offer no *direct* evidence on English influence : these books constitute valuable indirect evidence.

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PERIODICALS.

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- "La Revue des Deux-Mondes", 1829 to 1848.
- "La Revue de Paris", 1829-1845.
- "Le Temps", 1829-1842.

"From" before a date indicates that the periodical has existed earlier; "to" before the second date, that it has continued; only the forms "1813-1816" and "1835" signify that the periodical has been dealt with throughout its life

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

NOTES TO BIBLIOGRAPHY A. I.

Of the A. M. and J. J. Ampère memoirs and correspondences, only the "Quelques lettres inédites d'André-Marie Ampère", ed. by E. Jouy, 1911, offers nothing on Romanticism. M. Fuchs' 528-pages book on Th. de Banville (1912) contains nothing of that poet's correspondence.

J. Barbey d'Aurevilly's "Mémorandum" published 1856 figures again in the "Mémoranda" edited by P. Bourget in 1883.

H. Cordier's "Notules sur Charles Baudelaire", 1900, the reprint of a short article, may be omitted from the bibliography, because the only relevant unedited material it contains is found in the "Correspondance de Charles Baudelaire", 1906 (1907).

The "Lettres choisies de Béranger à Mme Hortense Allart de Méritens" published in 1857, all figure in Léon Séché's book on that authoress, while Clairville's "Chants de Béranger. Souvenirs", 1857, is, though cited by Thieme, nothing more or less than a play in three "tableaux".

Philaréte Chasles' "Voyages d'un critique à travers la vie et les livres", 3 voll., 1865-1868, are not personal memoirs but volumes of straight-out literary criticism.

Practically all the material in Imbert de Saint-Amand's "Mme de Girardin, avec des lettres inédites de Lamartine, Chateaubriand, Mlle Rachel", 1874, recurs either in L. Séché's work on Delphine Gay or in the published correspondence of Lamartine and Chateaubriand and d'Heylli's book on Rachel; and d'Antioché's "Chateaubriand ambassadeur à Londres" (1912) contains no letters inaccessible in the "Correspondance générale de Chateaubriand".

Ulric Guttinguer's "Pensées, impressions, opinions et souvenirs d'un campagnard", 1848, contains "thoughts" and emotional and intellectual impressions, but nothing that could rightly be termed memoirs or recollections.

H. Pellerin's "Henry d'Escamps", 1889, a tiny booklet containing two letters written by Victor Hugo, has been omitted from the bibliography, since neither does this book come under the heading of memoirs, nor do those letters, dated June 1848 and December 1851, concern literature sufficiently to warrant further mention.

The "Pro Memoria. Prosper Mérimée", 1907, merely represents the book-form (augmented with reproductions of some of the novelist's drawings) of "En l'honneur de Prosper Mérimée", published as a

booklet by the "Journal des Débats", the same year; Alphonse Lefebvre's "L'Inconnue de Prosper Mérimée", 1908, contains nothing of Mérimée that doesn't appear elsewhere, while Jenny Dacquin's letters touch scarcely on literature in general, not at all on Romanticism in particular.

Mme Martellet née A. Colin's "Dix ans chez Alfred de Musset", 1899, constitutes the original form of "Alfred de Musset intime", which, published in 1906, contains far more material.

Charles Nodier's "Nouveaux souvenirs et portraits", 1841, doesn't refer to literature; the "Souvenirs de la Révolution et de l'Empire", issued in 8 voll. in 1872, consists merely of chapters from both series of the "Souvenirs et portraits", of articles taken from the "Revue de Paris" of 1830-1840, and of several small works long before published separately by Nodier himself. The publication of the "Correspondance de Stendhal" by Paupe and Cheramy in 1908 superseded six or seven books containing letters of his and added many unedited letters.

R. Eude and others' "Alfred de Vigny intime", 1912, offers no unedited letters or fresh documents: the "Conseils de Mme de Vigny à son fils", had appeared in "Le Sillon", as early as 1905.

J. de Pétigny's "Souvenirs sur Balzac" (1855), J. Barbey d'Aurevilly's "Disjecta Membra" (1911), the "Lettres inédites de Marceline Desbordes-Valmore", brought to light by her son (1912), the anonymous writer's "Lamartine chez lui. Souvenirs intimes" (1869), and Christian Maréchal's "Un Correspondant inconnu de Lamennais" (1905) are not to be found at any one of the Bibliothèque Nationale, de l'Arsenal, Sainte-Geneviève. Probably the second, certainly the third, were privately printed; the Balzac and Lamartine books I suspect to have been very small and to have rapidly become "introuvables"; while the Lamennais "work" may be simply a printer's error. Lorenz gives them all except the first and the last.

NOTES TO BIBLIOGRAPHY A. II.

A. V. Arnault's "Les Souvenirs et les regrets du vieil auteur dramatique, ou Lettres d'un oncle à son neveu sur l'ancien Théâtre-Français", 1829 (reprinted 1861), deal with the years 1760-1786, while his "Souvenirs d'un sexagénaire", 4 voll., 1833, finish at 1799.

The "Mémoires de Fleury de la Comédie-Française", 6 voll., 1835-1838, though containing references neither to Romanticism in general nor to the Romantic theatre in particular, have been included in the theatrical section because Fleury speaks sympathetically of English writers that influenced the French Romantic movement.

Blum's "Mémoires de Réséda. Souvenirs contemporains", 1865, is a comedy, and Louis Monrosé's "Silhouettes contemporaines et autres. Souvenirs retrospectifs", 1882, happens, to be an ordinary book of verse.

Ed. Mazère's "Comédies et Souvenirs", 3 voll., 1858, consists of

plays and short introductions thereto: of genuine recollections there is no trace.

The "*Mémoires de Thérèse*", 1865, offers nothing on the Romantics. (By the way, Lorenz gives the date of this opera-singer's birth as 1837; this must surely be an error for 1827, since she speaks of having an engagement for 1847).

G. Duprez's "*Souvenirs d'un chanteur*", 1880, even though their author was a full contemporary with the Romantics, deals only with opera. The same remark applies to Ch. de Boigne's "*Petits mémoires de l'Opéra*", 1857.

L. A. Holtzem's "*Une vie d'artiste. Souvenirs de théâtre*", 1885, starts, for the theatre, at 1853; the few earlier recollections have no value for Romanticism.

H. Becque deals, in his "*Souvenirs d'un auteur dramatique*", 1895, only with the period 1870-1895.

Albéric Second's "*Petits mystères de l'Opéra*" (1844) and Eugène Monrose's "*Souvenirs spleenétiques, souvenirs d'un comédien*", 3 voll. (1885-1893), don't figure on the catalogues of the Bibliothèques Nationale, de l'Arsenal, Sainte-Genève. To the first I have seen references in other books, but I'm inclined to think that the second work, although it is mentioned by Lorenz, has never appeared in book-form. Probably it was announced and some unforeseen circumstance prevented its publication.

NOTES TO BIBLIOGRAPHY A. III.

Memoirs, recollections and letters written by artists and musicians are tricky: while those by Delacroix and Berlioz are fruitful and valuable, Adam's "*Souvenirs d'un musicien*" (1857) and Amaury Duval's "*Atelier d'Ingres. Souvenirs*" (1878) contain nothing for the subject of this book and concern Romanticism so slightly that I have omitted them from the bibliography. Likewise, the "*Lettres et pensées d'Hippolyte Flandrin*" (1865), the "*Correspondance de Bodinier avec Hippolyte et Paul Flandrin*" (1912), and "*Ingres d'après une correspondance inédite*" (1909) are wholly irrelevant.

Philosophers also prove difficult. Of five sets of Comte's correspondence, only his "*Lettres à H. Edger*" (1889) offers nothing on Romanticism; on the other hand, neither the "*Correspondance de Renouvier et de Secrétan*" (1910), nor F. Hémon's "*Bersot et ses amis*" (1911), nor Cournot's "*Souvenirs*" (1913) concern the Romantic movement, although Renouvier wrote several articles on Hugo, while Bersot and Cournot belonged to the generation of 1830. Studies on non-Romantic historians, even when they contain unedited letters, are very disappointing; e. g. Fiaux's "*Louis Blanc*" (1882), Hanotaux's "*Henri Martin*" (1885), E. Petit's "*François Mignet*" (1889).

One has the same experience with the religious writers and political historians: for instance, the many letters written by Lamennais provide valuable information, but Lacordaire and Joseph de Maistre supply nothing and rather bore one in the process.

More amusing are the various books possessing titles that give a false promise of memoirs or recollections—in prose. The following book,—and one might easily lengthen the list,—consist of poems: the baron de Flotte's "Souvenirs", published in 1868; Fournier's "Souvenirs poétiques de l'école romantique, 1820-1845", which constitutes an anthology with short biographical and bibliographical notes; Alphonse Magnier's "Souvenirs" (1875); A. Maillard's "Paysages et souvenirs", (1868); Constance Pipelet, Princesse de Salm-Dyck's "Mes soixante ans. Souvenirs politiques et littéraires", 1833; and Auguste Vacquerie's "Mes Premières Années de Paris" (1872).

"Mme Ackermann d'après des lettres et des papiers inédits", by d'Haussonville, 1892, contains, in the relevant parts, nothing on Romanticism.

The duchesse d'Abrantès' "Mémoires sur la Révolution, le Consulat, l'Empire...", 18 voll., 1831-1835, deal almost solely with the years before the Restoration (1814); and so, in view of the fact that the Duchess published a set of memoirs on the "Restauration" period in particular, they have been omitted.

Asselineau's "Bibliographie romantique. Catalogue anecdotique et pittoresque...", 2 voll., 1872-1874, constitutes the second edition, "revue et très-augmentée", of his "Mélanges tirés d'une bibliothèque romantique. Bibliographie anecdotique et pittoresque...", issued in 1866.

Of Léon Aubineau's four series of "Recits et souvenirs", only "Parmi les lys et les épines", 1884, offers no recollections on the Romantics. (Augustin Thierry, indeed, is mentioned in this book of religious memoirs, but only as a moralist.)

The "letters" in J. Autran's "Lettres et notes de voyage", 1879, are, like A. Daudet's "Lettres de mon moulin", tales and reminiscences cast into epistolary form.

Ch. Barthélemy's "Le Passé... Souvenirs et impressions", 1877, consists of nothing but critiques on various 17th and 18th century historical subjects.

R. de Beauvoir's "Soupeurs de mon temps", 1868, despite its title and despite the fact that Dumas the elder calls it "une série de portraits", is essentially a book of recollections: dealing almost wholly with the years 1830-1850, it abounds in "Souvenirs", and anecdotes.

De Belleville's "Souvenirs de ma jeunesse", 1895, though both the author and his father were men of letters, offers nothing on the Romantics.

It is interesting to note that the "Souvenirs de Berryer", 2 voll., 1837, disappointed the journalists of the time, who expected to find valuable comments by the great orator: these recollections are written by his father, an eminent lawyer, and contain not a single detail relevant to Romanticism.

Edmond Biré's "Mémoires et souvenirs, 1789-1830", 3 voll., 1895-1898, give us neither contemporary evidence (the author being born in 1829) nor unedited letters of, and documents on, the Romantic movement: as a matter of fact, they are essays in history.

Bonnière's "Mémoires d'aujourd'hui", 3 voll., 1883-1888, don't concern us, for the author was born as late as 1850.

Boschot's "Une Vie romantique", 1920, forms a mere résumé of his earlier books on Hector Berlioz.

"Ch. Brifaut. Souvenirs d'un académicien", edited by Dr. Cabanès in 2 voll., 1920-1921, comprises the "Récits d'un parrain", (1899), another set of his memoirs, the correspondence to Frantin (published 1885) and that to Toussaint Bénigne (1896), as well as many unedited letters.

"Mes Souvenirs", 1855 (1857) by Brun-Lavainne, offer nothing on Romanticism, even though the writer, born in 1791, was an historian and later a dramatist.

L. de La Brière's "Champollion inconnu. Lettres inédites", 1897, proves that the famous Egyptologist, though possessed of a rich vein of poesy, seems to have had no interest in the Romantics.

The "Cahiers" of Mme de Chateaubriand, edited by J. L. de La-charrière in 1909, contain nothing on the new movement.

H. Dabot's "Lettres d'un lycéen et d'un étudiant de 1847 à 1854", first publicly printed in 1900, and his "Souvenirs et impressions d'un bourgeois du quartier latin de 1854 à 1869", issued in 1899, yield no results (though the latter volume does give some valuable information as to Ponsard's popularity); and so I have avoided reading Dabot's "Griffonnages d'un bourgeois du quartier latin", 1895.

A. H. Taillandier's "Documents biographiques sur P. C. F. Daunou", 1841, makes absolutely no mention of Romanticism: Daunou, though he wrote much on literature, "appartenait à l'école purement classique".

One would expect Ernest Feydeau, a versatile author, to digress, in his "Mémoires d'un coulissier" (1873), on to literature; but not he keeps rigidly to recollections of the Bourse.

The "Souvenirs sur Flaubert", by Caroline Commanville, 1895, form only a reprint of her "Souvenirs intimes", which had in 1887 appeared at the head of volume I of Flaubert's Correspondence.

E. Gebhart's "Souvenirs d'un vieil Athénien", 1911, and "Petits mémoires", 1912, are quite irrelevant. So is Ad. Lair's "L'Institut de France et le Second Empire. Souvenirs anecdotiques", 1908.

G. Pailhès' "Du Nouveau sur Joubert", 1900, though cited by Lorenz, figures neither in the "Journal de la librairie", nor at the Bibliothèque Nationale; but it may be had at the Sorbonne library.

The two volumes of Julie Lavergne's Correspondence, published 1902-1903 by J. Lavergne, don't concern Romanticism at all: strange, considering that she was born in 1823, had a good education, and possessed a limpid and often charming style.

L. Leriche's "Souvenirs d'un vieux libraire", 1885, so far from furnishing information about writers and books, consists of while-away-the-time short stories.

The "Journal intime" of Maine de Biran, published by Naville in 1857 as "Sa Vie et ses pensées", has nothing directly relevant to Romanticism.

Marcelin's "Souvenirs de la Vie parisienne", 1888, should, to remove all ambiguity, read "Souvenirs de la "Vie parisienne"; as the book is made up of articles taken from that periodical, which commenced its mundane career in 1862, it falls outside our limits.

"Paris en 1814. Le Journal inédit de Madame de Marigny", edited by J. Ladreit de Lacharrière in 1907, and Imbert de Saint-Amand's "Dernières années de la duchesse de Berry", 1891, offer nothing on Romanticism, though both refer to Chateaubriand in a non-literary way.

J. Marmette, who wrote "Récits et souvenirs", 1891, was a Franco-Canadian, and he first visited France in 1882.

E. Merson's "Confessions d'un journaliste", 1890, and "Confidences d'un journaliste", 1891, are disappointing: the author, born in 1819, treats in each book only one Romantic; in the earlier, G. Sand, and in the later, Louis Veuillot; both appeal to him solely as journalists.

Mme Michelet's "Mémoires d'un enfant", 1867, deals mostly with childhood days, but even where it touches on her early girlhood no reference is made to books read during that period.

Volume I of the comte de Montalivet's "Fragments et souvenirs", 2 voll., 1899-1900, has been inserted in the bibliography; but even that volume contains only one passage (page 45, on Scott) strictly relevant to French Romanticism. On the other hand, Eug. Mouton's "Un Demi-siècle de vie (1848-1901)", 1901, though it mentions several Romantics, is omitted because it doesn't deal with them as Romantics.

Both Nadar (b. 1820) in his "Quand j'étais étudiant", 1856, and Eugène Noël (b. 1816) in "Fin de vie (notes et souvenirs)", edited by Elisée Reclus in 1902, are silent as to this subject. This is curious, since Nadar was a witty observer and a bright memoirist, and Noël an able literary critic.

Poujoulat's "Toscane et Rome. Correspondance d'Italie", 1840, is, like Michaud's "Correspondance d'Orient", 6 voll., 1833-1835, an historical travel-book.

The "Correspondance", of Elisée Reclus, published in 3 voll., 1911-1912, contains nothing relevant.

Of Henri Rochefort's "Aventures de ma vie", 5 voll., 1896-1898, only voll. I and II noteworthy concern Romanticism; Victor Hugo, as man rather than as author, figures, however, on pages 145 and 214-215 of voll. III and on pages 349-356 of vol. IV.

Saint-Beuve's "Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire" (1860) is listed only for the letters and extracts from diaries therein contained.

In 1911 or 1912 Léon Séché announced the coming publication, in book-form, of "Variétés romantiques", but apparently he didn't complete the work.

Most of Jules Simon's memoirs offer something; but "Jules Simon à l'École Normale (1833-1834). Lettres intimes de la vingtième année", 1896, contains not a single reference to Romanticism. The same remark applies to his "Le Soir de ma journée", 1901.

"Paris de 1800 à 1900 d'après les estampes et les mémoires du temps", edited by Ch. Simond, 3 voll., 1900-1901: very interesting,

but little space given to literature; of that little, far the greater part consists of résumés written about 1900, while the rest comes from well-known periodicals and well-known memoirs.

Emile Souvestre's "Récits et souvenirs", 1853, are not recollections but "romans de famille": and Spoelberch de Lovenjoul's "Bibliographie et littérature (Trouvailles d'un chercheur)", 1903, contains no relevant material inaccessible elsewhere.

A. de Tocqueville's "Souvenirs" (1893), which deals almost solely with the Revolution of 1848, has nothing on literature.

"Alexandre Vinet d'après sa correspondance inédite avec Henri Lutteroth", by E. de Pressensé, 1891, contains no direct reference to the Romantics, despite the fact that these letters cover the period 1832-1847.

Of. J. J. Weiss' "Notes et impressions. Choix de lettres" (1902), only the letters concern us: the "notes et impressions" were written in 1880 on contemporary matters.

"Fontainebleau. Paysages, légendes, souvenirs, fantaisies", written by Asselineau, Audebrand, Banville, Baudelaire, etc., etc., and published in 1855, forms not a series of "souvenirs", but a "recueil" of literary effusions offered as "hommage" to a certain person.

The "Lettres interceptées par les Russes... 1812", ed. by Hennet and Martin, 1913, yields nothing. True, there are seventeen letters written by Stendhal, but these don't touch at all on literature.

Not to be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale, de l'Arsenal, or Sainte-Geneviève:— "Madame de Chateaubriand d'après ses mémoires et sa correspondance", edited by G. Pailhès, 1886; vol. I of the "Oeuvres de Juste Olivier", 1879; A. Martin's "Etude sur les ex-dono et dédicaces autographes", 1877; "Ch. Ritter, ses amis et ses maîtres, choix de lettres", 1911; E. Sallard's "Souvenirs littéraires et politiques", 1883; and the "Lettres inédites de Viollet-le-Duc", 1904. All these works figure in Lorenz. The first I suspect to be an error committed by Lorenz: that the book doesn't exist. The second, often mentioned by Léon Séché, certainly exists, but it was published in Switzerland; the fourth also was published outside of France.

NOTES TO BIBLIOGRAPHY B.

It must be remembered that a great number of the articles containing relevant unedited letters and other new documents have reappeared in book-form; these have not been included.

This bibliography gives only such items as offer facts bearing directly on the subject of English influence. Many articles have been consulted, but the result has proved very disappointing: even important reviews, as e. g. the "Revue des Deux Mondes", the "Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France" and the "Annales Romantiques", yield surprisingly little. So that, having read pretty extensively in the modern periodicals, I feel that, while much in the way of articles has been omitted, little has been missed when it comes to direct evidence on the matter. The mass of articles consulted affords far less evidence

than does any one well-known journal of the Romantic period (such as the "Journal des Débats", the "Constitutionnel", or the "National"), or any long-lived review of the time (e. g. the "Revue des Deux Mondes", the "Revue de Paris", and the "Revue critique"); and such works as Delécluze's "Souvenirs de soixante ans", and the "Correspondance de Stendhal", contribute an amount of direct evidence that compares favourably with what a large proportion of the articles unreprinted elsewhere have offered.

The list given in Bibliography B is, I am well aware, very defective, but it aims even more at being representative than at attaining to some tolerable approximation to completeness; it stands or falls on a thorough examination of all the Parisian reviews mentioned. (Only two or three provincial reviews are listed).

NOTES TO BIBLIOGRAPHY C. (1)

While the newspapers, with the exception of theatrical dailies, rely on feuilletons and rare articles for the treatment of literature and deal mostly with new plays and recent books, the reviews, on the other hand, not only criticise these books and plays but contain many articles on individual writers and general literary questions; besides, the reviews set forth these subjects in a more orderly form and with more careful judgments. I have therefore drawn on as many reviews as newspapers, even though the minor weeklies and fortnightlyes commanded a public rather smaller than that of the less important dailies; reviews were few before the appearance of the "Revue des Deux Mondes" and the "Revue de Paris" in 1829.

Of the weeklies and fortnightlyes of 1820-1848, I have gone through nearly all those which possess any real importance, but I have had to choose cautiously among the newspapers, in order to work out a list that is adequate, balanced and catholic. Experts in specialised fields will no doubt find fault with the selection, but I have at any rate included the periodicals that offer the most valuable literary criticism and paid special attention to those which Hatin notes under "Littérature" (2).

It is, however, with regret that I have omitted such newspapers as "Le Semeur" and "La France"; nevertheless one can't read everything, and I feel that I must, in fairness to myself, state that, in the periodicals listed, I have not merely glanced here and there, but have "run through" all the criticism, notices, literary essays and studies.

(1) The present writer hopes that, when he has accumulated further material, he will be able both to give a detailed account of the qualitative and the quantitative value of the evidence of English influence as shown in the periodicals of 1820-1848, and to add several details in which he can rectify a few errors in Hatin's work on the French press.

(2) The "Mémorial de la littérature et des beaux-arts" (1840-1841), mentioned by Hatin, contains exactly the same material as "L'Echo de la littérature..." for those years; the latter (also cited by Hatin) is much the more important periodical and forms the original.

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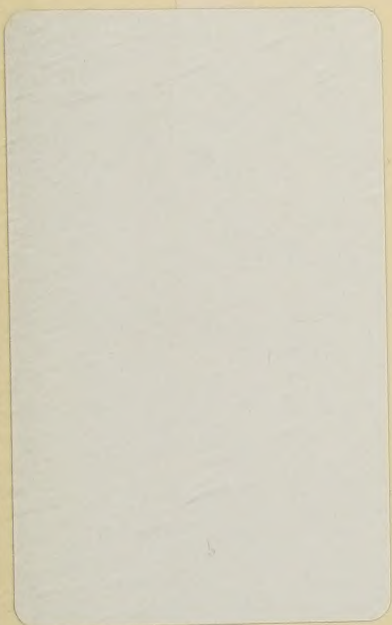
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